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PUBLICATION FUND.

XI.

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OF THE

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR

1878.

PUBLICATION FUND SERIES.

NEW YORK:
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REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS.

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE contents of this volume relate chiefly to the American Revolution. Among them the first place is given to the Papers of CHARLES THOMSON, *whose name is familiar as that of the "* Old Secretary *" of the Continental Congress. Of all those to whom has been ascribed an intention to write the history of the struggle through which the United States came into existence as a nation, not one can be named whose work, if accomplished, would have been more valuable than his to posterity, although the list is a long one and embraces great names.*

Few, comparatively, of his papers are known to have been preserved. The present collection probably includes the most considerable of these, and their publication will enhance the lasting regret that any have been lost or destroyed. The copies from which they are printed are those made for the late WILLIAM B. REED, *to whom the Society was also indebted for the rich gift of the* Papers of JOSEPH REED, *now in its library.*

The Debates in the Congress of the Confederation, *reported by their Secretary, will be regarded with much interest. Carefully made from day to day by* Mr. THOMSON, *and preceding only by a brief interval those of* Mr. MADISON, *which began in November,* 1782, *they are in themselves very complete and substantial. The occasional touches of color in personal portraiture indulged in by the reporter have a special significance,*

almost bringing the speakers vividly before us on the theatre of discussion. The notable deficiency of such materials for this part of our civil history enhances the value of what is now printed.

"The councils of the old Congress, its secret doings and deliberations, are but little known. The witnesses of that conclave dropped long ago one by one into the grave, and no one told the tale of its anxious deliberations. If the illuminated record of those councils could be rescued from oblivion, it would illustrate the spirit of the Revolution better than its battles or its tumults—the spirit of patriotic determination—the firm contemplation of impending danger—the resolution to do public duty at whatever sacrifice—the heroism of high counsel—the intellectual romance which distinguishes the American Revolution from all others the world has ever seen."

The concluding papers of the Thomson collection furnish an interesting picture of the state of affairs in Pennsylvania in 1774–75. *Having both been written by men active in the proceedings they relate, and entertaining different opinions of men and measures, they are also important.*

The first was apparently a contribution by Joseph Reed *of materials for a projected history of the American Revolution, and came into the hands of* Charles Thomson, *who made the following endorsement upon it: "This is a misapprehension of facts. The meeting was planned by Mr. J. D.* [John Dickinson] *and T.* [Thomson]. *J. R.* [Joseph Reed] *and M.* [Mifflin] *were called to act an under part."*

Mr. Thomson *himself prepared the second paper—"to unfold the scene and give a sketch of things as they really happened."*

These papers are without date and their history has not been fully explained. Both are said to have been communicated to William Henry Drayton, *of South Carolina, in aid of his collections in American History.* Mr. Drayton *was elected a member of Con-*

gress and took his seat on March 30, 1778, *at York, in Pennsylvania, where Congress was then sitting. Upon their return to Philadelphia, after the evacuation of that city by the British army in June of the same year, he accompanied them, and died there on September* 3, 1779. *He had already prepared a manuscript in two volumes relating to the early part of the Revolution in the Southern Colonies,* 1773–1776. *He was brought into close relations with Mr. Reed at the time of the affair with Commissioner* JOHNSTONE, *whose awkward attempts at bribery among the members of Congress became so famous in the history of the time. The gentleman (a member of Congress) who managed the affairs of* Mr. DRAYTON *after his death, is said to have destroyed his papers as containing many secrets of state. A few escaped, and his son,* JOHN DRAYTON, *in the work which he published in* 1821, *made use of the remains of his father's manuscripts, but there is no trace of knowledge or influence to be found in that work of the documents here published.*

The paper by Mr. THOMSON *has been printed in the* Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. II., *from a copy made for* Mr. SPARKS *in* 1824, *and* Mr. REED, *whose copies, revised by himself, are used in the present publication, printed extracts in his* Life of Joseph Reed *in* 1847.

The approaching centennial of Yorktown will renew the interest which the people of America have always felt in the story of the French Alliance of 1778, *so fruitful in good results in the revolutionary struggle, and the series of* "Letters of Colonel ARMAND," *which occupy a portion of this volume, will revive and gratify the sense of personal obligation under which every citizen of the republic rests to the leaders of those gallant auxiliaries. The committee deem it unnecessary to explain or apologize for the literal reproduction of these letters with all their imperfections as written English. Any attempt to modify them would well nigh destroy their value. The originals are preserved*

among the "Washington Papers" *in the archives of the Department of State.*

A series of "Letters to Robert Morris" *concludes this volume, which reveals many features of the heroic period of our national history with wonderful distinctness, and throws a strong flood of light upon many of its obscure passages. All bear witness to the recognized ability and sterling patriotism of* Mr. Morris, *and the great services which he rendered to the country, second only in importance to those of* Washington *himself in several critical periods of the war. Every scrap of his correspondence is valuable and ought to be preserved, for it is the documentary evidence of the work done and the spirit in which the great leaders wrought who accomplished it.*

New York, January, 1879.

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THE THOMSON PAPERS.

1765—1816.

THE THOMSON PAPERS.

From William Franklin.

Burlington, Jan^{ry} 21, 1765.

I cannot enough thank my good Friend for the very kind Letter I received from him a few Days ago by my Sister, and which I should have answered by her but that she went away suddenly on account of the weather.

I was some months ago appriz'd of Cap^{t} Kennedy's Intention of applying home to have the Bergen Act repealed, and therefore immediately sent the ministry such a state of the Case supported by Deposition, that I am convinced I cannot incur any censure on that Account whatever my Enemies may attempt.

As to the Passing the Supply Act, I have received His Majesty's approbation of my Conduct on that occasion expressed in the strongest Terms, in a Letter from my Lord Halifax.

M^{rs} Franklin joins me in Compliments of the season & all good wishes to you and M^{rs} Thomson. We should be glad to see you both here & whenever it suits your Conveniency. I am with the greatest Esteem, Dear sir, your most affect^{ly} Humble servant,

W^{m} Franklin.

M^{r} C. Thomson.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

London, July 11, 1765.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am extremely obliged by your kind Letters of April 12th & 14th & thank you for the intelligence they contain.

The Outrages continually committed by those misguided people, will doubtless tend to convince all the confederate on your side of the water of the weakness of our present Government & the necessity of a Change. I am sure it will contribute toward hastening that Change here so that upon the whole, Good will be brought out of Evil. But yet I grieve to hear of such horrid disorders. The Letters & accounts boasted of from the Proprietor of his being sure of retaining the Government as well as those of the sums offered for it which the people will be obliged to pay &c., are all idle Tales fit only for knaves to propagate & Fools to believe. A little Time will *dissipate all the smoke they* can raise to conceal the real state of things. The unsettled state of the ministry ever since the parliament rose, has stopped all proceeding in Publick affairs & ours amongst the rest; but Change being now made we shall immediately proceed, and with the greater Chearfulness as some we had reason to doubt of are removed, and some particular friends are put in place.

What you mention of the Lower Counties is undoubtedly right. Had they ever sent their laws home as they ought to have done, that of priority of Payment of Residents would undoubtedly have been repealed. But the end of all these things is nigh at least it seems to be so.

The spiking of the Guns was an audacious Piece of villainy by whomsoever done, it shows the necessity of a regular enclosed Place of Defence with a constant Guard to take care of what belongs to it, which when the Country can afford it, will I hope be provided.

Depend upon it my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the stamp act no body could be more concerned in interest than myself to oppose it sincerely & heartily. But the Tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American Claims of Independence & all Parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since 'tis down my Friend and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and Industry will go a great way toward indemnifying us. Idleness and Pride tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliament. If we can get rid of the former we may easily bear the latter. My best respects to M^rs^ Thomson. Adieu, my Dear Friend, & believe me ever, yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

Excuse my man John's miserable clerkship.

M^r^ Thomson.

To Mess^rs^ Welsh, Wilkinson & Co.

Philade^a^, 7 November, 1765.

Gentlemen,

This encloses you G. Russel on M^r^ Russel of your Town £100 which please receive and place to my Credit. I have not time otherwise should inform you particularly of the Distractions and Confusions of the Colonies by reason of the Stamp act, where things will end God knows. So exasperated are the People that to appease them and indeed for our own Safety the merchants are obliged to pawn their word and honour and give from under their hands that they will

not import any more Goods from Great Britain until that act is repealed. So that if the ministry determine to carry that act into execution the Connection between G. B. & her Colonies must in a great measure cease and you must look out for other markets to vend your wares. For besides that it would be unsafe for any man to import while the Stamp act continues unrepealed the people are determined not to use the manufactures of Great Britain but either to manufacture for themselves or go without—but of this you will hear more from others. The Balance I shall remit you by the next. In the mean while, I am—

pr the *Packet.*

The above is a Copy of what I sent you by the Packet since that the people, apprehensive that Goods might be imported in consequence of orders sent before, were not satisfyed with exacting a promise under each person hand not to send for any more goods—but likewise insisted upon each person countermanding what orders he has out, for fear if left to each person to countermand his orders in his own words he would not do it in terms strong enough, the enclosed Form was drawn up and printed for every person to sign. I therefore, in consequence of my promise, tho I have no orders with you, transmit you the form signed with my name, and am, Gentlemen, your obli[g] friend

CHA[s] THOMSON.

By the King of Prussia via Dublin

PRINTED FORM FOR COUNTERMANDING ORDERS.

Phila[a], November 7, 1765.

At a general meeting of the Merchants and Traders of this City, it was this day unanimously resolved by

them (and to strengthen their Resolution they entered into the most solemn engagements with each other) that they would not import any Goods from Great Britain until the Stamp act was repealed. I do therefore hereby Countermand all the orders I have heretofore transmitted to you for the shipping any Goods and I do expect and insist that you pay a strict and literal obedience to this Injunction, for should they arrive and the stamp act not be repealed I shall not dare to dispose of any part of them without a Forfeiture of my Honour, nor indeed can I promise for their or my own safety.

Phil[a] 17 December.

Mess[rs] Sergeant, Anfere & Co[y]

Enclosed you have George Bryans Bill on Hasenclever, Seton & Croftes for £200, which you will receive and pass to my Credit. I am, &c.

To Mess[rs] Cook, Lawrence & Co.

Philad[a], Nov. 9, 1765.

Enclosed you have J. Carson's Bill on David Harvey for £260, which is nearly the Balance. I wish it safe to hand and to your satisfaction and desire you will credit my acc[t] therewith. The Confusion in our City and Province, and indeed thro the whole Colonies, are unspeakable by reason of the late Stamp act. The Courts of Justice and the offices of Government are all shut; numbers of people who are indebted take advantage of the times to refuse Payment and are moving off with all their effects out of the reach of their Creditors. Our Ports are shut, except to such vessels as where cleared before the 1[st] In[st]. Thus credit is gone,

Trade & Commerce at a stand. That peace which we ardently wished by one fatal act only presents us with a Prospect of Confusion & Beggary. In the mean while our Connection with Great Britain in a great measure must cease, for the People are determined if the act takes place not to make use of British manufactures—nay they will not suffer them to be imported, so that the merchants have been obliged to sign a paper wherein they engage not to order any goods until the Stamp act be repealed and even in terms prescribed (of which I send you a Copy) to Countermand the orders already sent. Where this will end God knows—but if relief does not come, and that speedily we who have imported Goods from Great Britain are ruined, and how far our Ruin may affect the Trade and manufactures of Great Britain they best can tell. In the meantime wishing the return of happy times I respectfully take my leave by assuring you that I am your very much obliged Friend.

By the King of Prussia via Dublin

I wrote you this morning concerning a bill of Exchange. As the Bag is not yet gone, I cannot omit adding a few thoughts on the situation of our public affairs which is at present very alarming. Since I have concerned in trade I have very little attended to Politics; but such is the present Crisis that none who have the least regard for public or private Interest can be silent, and indeed so much is the Interest of Great Britain, and more especially of the trading part, blended with the welfare of the Colonies that you ought to be made acquainted with our state and grievance, because what distresses us will in the end affect you. Of late years the Ministry & Parli^{t} of Great Britain (for what reason they can best tell) have taken every opportunity to cramp the Trade of the Col. under pretence of regulating it. This Country, it must be allowed, is as well calculated for Trade, Manufactures & Commerce as

any in the world. Our Hills abound with Iron and other rich minerals, our plains produce the richest verdure, and when plowed yield plentiful Crops of Grain which we have in a great variety, so that there is the greatest encouragement for Farming & grazing. Behind us lies an immense Country, which supplies the finest furs; along our Coasts are many commodious Harbours & in some places great Plenty of Fish. No sooner did the Colonies begin to improve these advantages than they were restricted by severe acts of P——. With difficulty were we suffered to convert Iron Ore into Bars.

Mills were absolutely prohibited—nay, tho' great quantities of steel are yearly imported from Germany to B—— yet the Colonies were prohibited from erecting steel furnaces. They were not allowed to exchange or supply one another with wool or woolens manufactured by themselves. Hatters & other Tradesmen were laid under restraints—These and several other restrictions however severe were calmly submitted to and patiently borne that G. B. unrivalled might enjoy the full advantage of her trade and manufactury. Therefore declining the Trades the Colonists applied themselves to the Culture of their Lands, depending for manufactures almost wholly on G. B. In a short time the Quantity of our produce was too great for the English West Indies—which so reduced the price that the whole of our Exports was not sufficient to pay for the goods imported from G. B. upon this the middle and eastern Colonies had recourse to neutral Ports where they found especially among the Spaniards a ready sale not only for their Provisions but likewise for British manufactures. This occasioned a Prodigious Import of goods from G. B. and an immense Return of silver. The Col. that were employed in fishing—found among the French a ready sale for their refuse Fish (such as would not sell in the European markets) and in return got molasses which they distilled into Rum and exported again as far as Africa,

and thus carried on an advantageous Trade the profits of which ultimately centered in England to pay for the vast Quantity of merchandize imported from thence. Notwithstanding the Profits and advantages which England reaped from the Colonies on the continent the ministry, listening (as report goes) to the suggestions of some of the Islanders who were envious of our Prosperity and who wanted to make a gain of us got an act to exclude us out of neutral Ports. Our provisions, Lumber & fish were in America confined to the English Islands, tho they could not consume one half—from them alone we must purchase our sugar, Rum, molasses, &c. tho they could hardly supply the markets of Great Britain. The Consequence of this was that France & Spain enjoyed the advantage of supplying the European markets with West India commodities, while England and her Colonies on the Continent were paying an advanced price for them only to support the Luxury and Pride of some few Individuals: add to this a decrease of the Consumption of the British manufactures and a prodigious expense to support Guard a Costas in order to put the act fully into Execution. For lest the hope of gain might induce some to transgress an act formed to oppress us, or lest the want of Provisions or desire of B—— manufactures (of w^{ch} the Spaniards were become very fond) should induce foreigners to come to us, a number of men of war like Harpies are ordered to infest our Rivers and hover on our Coasts to prevent the one & the other. Thus the Price of our Produce is reduced, our trade is crampt, the Channels thro which we derived specie entirely stopped, so that we cannot import those Quantities of B. manufactures as we used to do, nor even pay for what we have got—and for my own part I do not see what remains for us but to break off our intercourse with G. B. and apply ourselves to trades & handcrafts in order to supply our wants and necessities. But our Grievances do not rest here. It was not enough to restrict and confine our Trades: to dis-

tress us still more we must be deprived of a paper Currency, which without any disadvantage to Britain served us as a medium of internal Trade, and at the same time (by the peculiar way of emitting it) supplied a great Part of the Expence of civil Government and eased us of Taxes, nor is this all—our Imports from the West Indies (which are already enormously raised in Price for the Reasons I mentioned before) are loaded with duties: our wines we must carry from Lisbon to England; there unload them, pay heavy duties and then reship them for America: and as if all this had not been enough that we might feel and be sensible that we are to have as little Liberty as property an act is passed whereby a monstrous tax is imposed on us without our Consent and enforced by ways unknown in Britain or the British Constitution, destructive of our Liberties and subversive of our most valuable Rights; nay, if we are rightly informed, we narrowly escaped being dragooned into it, as an act was offered for billeting soldiers on private Houses: and here let me remark that while we were surrounded by the French, we had no army to defend us: but now they are removed, and the English in quiet possession of the northern Continent of America we are burthened with a standing army and subjected to insufferable Insults from any petty officer who upon obtaining a warrant from any Justice of the Peace may "forceably enter into "or break open the dwelling house or outhouses of "any Person whatsoever under pretence of searching "for deserters." Thus a Colonist in future has no security in his property, no Protection in his house, no Right to a Trial by a Jury in matters relating to the stamp act, or any other act of Trade, but is liable to be dragged, at the pleasure of any Infamous informer—a thousand miles from home and subjected to the will of an Arbitrary Judge of a Court of Admiralty. Need I tell you the effects of these measures—whoever has known what it is to be free may easily Conjecture them. The affections of more than two millions of as

loyal subjects as ever existed are in a fair way to be alienated from G. B. Jealousies are raised which years will hardly efface and in the mean time every step is taken to supply ourselves with Cloathing by our own Industry, independent of G. B. while a spirit of Liberty is awakened that will hazard much before it will submit to Slavery. The stamp officers have every where (except in Nova Scotia & Canada, w^{h} are under the power of a military Force) been obliged to resign their offices, the several assemblies have passed & published resolves declarative of their rights, and the whole Continent have submitted to a suspension of Law with regard to Civil matters rather than submit to take the stamps; deputies from the several Governments met at New York last Oct—where, after drawing up some Resolutions respecting the Rights and privileges of the Colonies, they joined in one united Remonstrance and Petition to have the stamp act repealed, some of the restrictions on our trade abated and some other grievances redressed. Should this have a proper effect, as I hope it will, all things will naturally return into their former Channel. In the mean while we expect that all who have any Interest or Connexion here will use their utmost endeavours to obtain for us a redress of our Grievances and a full and free enjoyment of our natural and inherent Rights. May God grant a speedy and happy Issue to all these affairs. I am, with much Esteem and Regret, your sincere wellwisher,

C. T.

P. S. My letter proving longer than I intended or imagined I have missed the opportunity by the Myrtilla, so send this with the 2 Bill p^{r} the Packet—Cap^{t} Goodridge.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

London, Feb^{y} 27, 1766.

MY GOOD FRIEND & NEIGHBOUR

I forgot whether I before acknowledged the Receipt of your kind Letter of Sept 24. I gave an Extract of it to a Friend; with an extract of mine to which it was an answer; and he printed both in the London Chronicle with an Introduction of his own; and I have reprinted every thing from America that I thought might help our Common Cause. We at length, after a long and hard struggle, have gained so much ground, that there is now little Doubt the Stamp Act will be repealed, & reasonable relief given us besides in our Commercial grievances & those relating to our Currency. I trust the Behaviour of the Americans on the occasion will be so prudent, decent & grateful as that their Friends here will have no reason to be ashamed, and that our enemies, who predict that the Indulgence of Parliament will only make us more insolent & ungovernable, may find themselves, and be found—false Prophets.

My Respects to M^{rs} Thomson. I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you by any of the late opportunities; but am so bad a correspondent myself that I have no right to take Exceptions, and am nevertheless, Your affectionate Friend, & very humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

M$^{r.}$ Cha. Thomson.

Invoice, Etc.

Invoice of Hats to be Shipped by John Willday to Cha. Thomson in Phil[a] by the way of Bristol, full Insurance being first made thereon—Two Hogsheads each Con[tg]: viz:

3 doz	Boys felts,	6/9,	2 doz	Mens Felts,	12/
3 doz		7/9,	2 doz		14/
4 doz		9/–,	2 doz		16/
4 doz		0/–,	2 doz		18/
4 doz		11/–,	2 doz		20/
2 doz		12/–,	2 doz		22/
1 doz		14/–,	1 doz	Mens Castors,	5/

These to be paid for in Bar Iron at the wholesale Philadel[a] Market Price, March 10, 1766.

John Willday.

To Messrs. Neale, Pigon and Booth.

Phil[a] May 20, 1766.

Gentlemen,

I have received your Letter with the Account Current of last year—and am sorry to find so large a ballance due. I here enclose you three bills—drawn by Carson, Barclay and Mitchell, two on David Harvey for 150 each and one on William Alexander for £200 which make £500—I wish them safe to hand and shall use my best endeavours to discharge the Balance as soon as possible. I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude for the pains you have taken in the cause of America. I congratulate you on the pleasing prospect that opens by the repeal of the stamp act. I hope it will be further brightened by the amendment of those acts which bear heavy on our Trade. May

Harmony, Peace, and Concord ever subsist between Britain and the Colonies. I am with much respect,

CHA. THOMSON.

Orig[ll] Copy P[r] the Hibernia, Keith, via Bristol, Londonderry & Dublin—R. Cunningham's vessel

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TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

May 20, 1766.

MY WORTHY AND MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I sincerely and heartily congratulate you on the repeal of the Stamp act, and from my heart thank you for the pains you have taken to bring that happy event. Your Enemies at last began to be ashamed of their base insinuations and to acknowledge that the Colonies are under obligations to you. I was exceeding glad at the Publication of your Letter to Gov[r] Shirley. That, joined to what you have done of late, shews such uniformity of Sentiment and Conduct that malice itself is almost struck dumb. For my own part whether you succeed or whether you miscarry in the first design of your agency—I shall ever deem it a kind dispensation of Providence that brought you to London at this so critical conjunction.

It is impossible for me to describe the situation of People's minds on this Continent during the late debates in Parliament. Almost every vessel that arrived brought different accounts; and every different account excited different sensations and emotions. Determined in their own mind what part to act should matters come to extremities, the sensible and judicious waited the event with patience and temper, tho with much anxiety and distress of mind; while the turbulent and weaker spirits (of which there are but too many in every State) giving way to the sallies of their passions

expressed their Resentment or Joy in acts which Cannot be justifyed, tho they may be excused. The Justice and tenderness of the mother Country (of which the late repeal is so striking an Instance) will, I am confident, distinguish and not impute to a whole people the acts of some individuals provoked to madness and actuated by despair.

I can with great Confidence assure you and all the Friends of America in England that they need be under no uneasiness about our Conduct on account of the Repeal. Our hearts are still towards Britain, our love and allegiance to our King is entire and unshaken, and I am sure never did a dutiful and Affectionate Son feel more sincere pleasure from a Reconciliation with a much loved parent unjustly offended at him, than the Americans feel at the prospect of re-establishment of harmony, peace and Concord between Great Britain and them.

I wish those Enemies of Britain and her Colonies who have so unworthily exerted their abilities to make a misunderstanding between them to the Ruin of both could but have seen in what manner the news of the repeal was received—Joy there was to be sure—a heart felt joy—seen in every Eye read in every Countenance; a Joy not expressed in triumph but with the warmest sentiments of Loyalty to our King and a grateful acknowledgement of the Justice and tenderness of the mother Country—and what man who has the feelings of humanity (not to mention more) but rejoices that an affair which might have had such terrible Consequences is thus happily accommodated. May there never arise a like occasion! I am, with most sincere esteem & respect, D^{r} S^{r} your Affectionate.

Cha. Thomson.

To Benj^{n} Franklin, Esq^{r}.

To Benjamin Franklin.

Philadel[a], Aug[st] 24[th], 1766.

I do not know whether the intimacy with which you have honoured me gives me a right to introduce any to your notice without first having your Leave; yet as I have knowledge enough of y[e] goodness of y[r] hrt to be assured of y[e] pleasure it will give you to encourage rising Genius. I am induced to recommend to your notice Benj R. a native of this Town going to Edinburgh to finish his Studies. I should not have taken this Liberty had not Doc[t] J. Redman, whose Character you know, called & informed that Benj had Lived with him "Six years, during which time "his moral Character, behaviour and application was "such as a father would wish that of a favourite son "to be & that his skill and abilities promised him to "be a very useful member of Society in his profession." As his design in going abroad is wholly for the sake of acquiring medical knowledge, he is ambitious of being under your patronage, and should think himself extremely happy if by a line from you he could be introduced to the notice of men of Letters especially such as are eminent in Physick nothing I can say would have equal w[t] w[th] y[t] which Doc[t] Redman (who spoke a great deal in his favour) said that any recommendation of that sort would rather be a service to society. He goes accompanied by Jonathan (a son of y[r] old f[d] John Potts) in whose behalf you will doubtless have letters from his Friends. I am, Sir, with great esteem and respects, your affectionate Friend & very humble Servant,

Cha. Thomson.

Doc[t] B. Franklin

From Benjamin Franklin.

London, Sept 27th, 1766.

Dear Friend & Neighbour

I received your very kind Letter of May 20th which came here while I was absent in Germany. The favourable sentiments you express of my Conduct with regard to repeal of the stamp act give me real Pleasure—and I hope in every other matter of Publick concern so to behave myself as to stand fair in the opinion of the wise & good—what the rest think and say of me will then give me less concern—That Part of your Letter which related to the situation of People's minds in America before and after the repeal, was so well exprest, and in my Opinion so proper to be generally read and understood here—that I had it printed in the London Chronicle—I had the Pleasure to find it did good in several instances within my Knowledge—There are Claimers of Merits in obtaining the Repeal. But if I live to see you I will let you know what an Excape we had in the beginning of the Affair, & how much we were obliged to what the Profane would call luck & the Pious *Providence.* You will give an old man leave to say my Love to Mrs Thomson. With sincere regard I am, your affectionate Friend,

B. Franklin

Mr Thomson

To Benjamin Franklin.

Phila, Nov. 6th, 1768.

Dear Sir,

It is with pain I recollect the agreeable correspondence with which you were pleased to honour me has been so long broken off. Conscious of the purity of my intentions and uprightness of my Con-

duct I waited for the pleasure of seeing you, and rested fully satisfied that in whatever light I may have been represented by some, who of late have taken it into their head to be dissatisfyed with me, I should be found to have acted not unworthy the notice or friendship with which you have honoured me—I longed for your arrival on another account that I might have your advice and assistance in the execution of a Plan, which I flattered myself might be useful to our Country.

You remember the Society to which I belonged w^h^ was begun in the year 1750. By the Death and removal of some of the members it dwindled for some time to that degree that I was apprehensive of its dissolution. From some Conversation I had with you some few of us exerted ourselves to revive it again. New members were elected and our meetings became more regular. As our views were enlarged with our years we became desirous of altering and enlarging the Plan of our Society and if possible of rendering it useful to the Publick. For this end the enclosed proposals were drawn up, and laid before the Society, who approved the same and ordered them to be published and immediately proceeded to draw up some Rules for carrying the same into execution At first we met with some discouragement and experienced some Difficulties which by perseverance are at last in a great measure overcome, and I have now the Pleasure to inform you we have brought the Society to some degree of Perfection We have established a Correspondence in most of the Colonies on the Continent and in some of the Islands and have formed a Set of Rules or Laws for our government which I shall transmit to you by the next opportunity. We did ourselves the honour early to elect you a member & requested the favour of your son and Doct. Evans to inform you. And now having resolved to elect standing officers, we have presumed to elect you our President, and hope for your Patronage & assistance. M^r^ Samuel Powell is our vice President, Doct Mor-

gan, Major Micole & J. Bartram are curators, M^r^ Biddle our Treas^er^, & M^r^ Tho^s^ Mifflin & myself Secretaries. We are yet in our infant State, & dare not promise any great Matters; however the Discoveries already made & communicated to us some of which we have laid before the Public encourage us to hope that our undertaking will not be in vain. I am, with the greatest Esteem & Affection, your Sincere friend,

CHA. THOMSON.

JOHN DICKINSON TO ———.

ABOUT twelve months ago dear madam I promised your late excellent Cousin, to shew her a Head representing Cleopatra dying, which I mentioned to her as being very finely executed.

The inexpressible misfortune, that quickly after utterly destroyed all my happiness on this Earth, was the occasion, I believe, of my forgetting this Engagement. At last an Accident recalled it to my memory, and I designed to make some amends for my negligence by presenting to her a Head I had lately received from London, *that* I spoke of not being my own. But on the very day I intended to write to her I heard that my invaluable, my beloved, my Sincere Friend—for such she affectionately and generously declared herself to me—was seized with the fatal disease that robbed the world of one of the greatest Treasures it ever held.

You, dear Madam, have given me cause to believe that you favour me with some Share of your Esteem —I know you have mine, and you certainly loved my departed friend. As the little piece now sent may be regarded as having in some measure belonged to her, I shall receive a particular pleasure if you will accept it as a small mark of my perfect affection. I once hoped it would have been in my Power, to have given

far other proofs of that affection. Convinced in my mind that your honoured Mamma and you were truly worthy of every dutiful, every kind Service, and warmly inclined by the Impulses of my heart to render them, I took Delight in my Resolutions, my Expectations of demonstrating by my tender and unceasing attention to her venerable age and virtues and to your Goodness, how desirous I was to deserve those Titles of Relationship by which I wished to be called. The Prospects that charmed for a few days are darkened forever. But affliction itself cannot extinguish my Remembrance of your kindness or my Gratitude for them; and whatever I suffer—that you and your revered Parent may be happy, shall be the earnest prayer of, Dear Madam, your very affectionate and obedient Servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.

August 24th 1769.

Permit me to entreat you will be pleased to present my most respectful Compliments to your honoured Mamma.

I am told, Madam, that you have a profile in Paper of your late dear Cousin. If I may be allowed to take the Liberty of making such a request, I beg to be favoured with a Copy of it, which will extremely oblige me. I shall also be obliged to you if you will please not to mention this Letter to Miss Norris, as it might make her anxious to see the head, and I am afraid so strong an expression of departing Life may affect her too sensibly.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Phil^{a}, Nov. 26, 1769.

SIR,

As Cap^{t} Sparks sails sooner than I expected, the Committee of merchants have not time to write to you;

they have therefore desired me to enclose you a copy of their Letter to the Committee of Merchants in London as the parliament will no doubt at their meeting take under Consideration the affairs of America, it is necessary you should be fully acquainted with the disposition and temper of the colonies. Though the merchants of this place and New York have agreed to confine their non-importation to the repeal of the act laying duties on Tea, Paper, Glass and Paints, yet this does not rise from any alteration of sentiment in the minds of the people in general, nor from a conviction that this is the only act that affects the Liberty of America. It was necessary therefore in order that the Conduct of the merchants, might not affect the general cause, and prevent such a redress of grievances, as would give general satisfaction, to explain to our friends in England those wrongs of which the People here complain and to inform them what alone can put a full and final end to the unhappy dispute which has arisen between Great Britain and the colonies. A partial redress of grievances will avail little to allay the heats and quiet the minds of the people. The colonies see plainly that the Ministry have adopted a settled plan to subjugate America to arbitrary power and that all the late acts respecting them lead to this purpose. First the parliament claims a right to levy upon the Americans without their consent. To shew the extent of the authority which they mean to exercise, they declare that they have a power to make laws to bind them in all cases whatever. By another Act they suspend the legislative authority of an American Assembly for daring to dispute their commands and for not implicitly obeying their dictates—and to convince the Americans that no act of their legislatures, however solemnly passed and ratified can screen them from the power of Parliament, they by another act order a certain sum to be paid as a fee to one of the petty officers of the customs with these words annexed "any law, by law, or act of assembly in any of the colonies to

the contrary notwithstanding." But as the raising a revenue and taking the purse strings into their own hands is their main end and view, knowing that every other power must follow this, they empower the King to erect a Board of Commissioners here with unlimited powers; and that the Courts of Common Law may not obstruct this new fangled board in their proceedings they extend the jurisdiction of the admiralty court and grant the officers of the customs and every informer the option of commencing every suit relative to the revenue in that Court. The army which was left in America after the late war under pretence of securing & defending it, is now publickly declared to be for the purpose of enforceing obedience to the authority of Parliament. The Remonstrances and Petitions of the Assemblies in favour of their rights and against these Claims of Parliament are treated as sedition, and the attempts of the people to procure a redress of grievances are deemed rebellion and treason; and in order to intimidate the colonies an antique obsolete law is revived, and the crown addressed to send for persons accused of treasonable practices in America & try them in England. How much further they may proceed is uncertain, but from what they have already done the Colonies see that their property is precarious & their Liberty insecure. It is true the impositions already laid are not very grievous; but if the principle is established, and the Authority by which they are laid admitted, there is no security for what remains. The very nature of freedom supposes that no tax can be levied on a people without their consent given personally or by their representatives. It was not on account of the largeness of the sum demanded by Charles 1st that ship money was so odious to the commons of England. But because the principle upon which it was demanded left them nothing they could call their own. The continuation of this claim of the parliament will certainly be productive of ill consequences, as it will tend to alienate the affections of

the Colonies from the mother Country—already it has awakened a spirit of enquiry. The people by examining have gained a fuller knowledge of their rights and are become more attentive and watchful against the encroachments of power, at the same time they are become more sensible of the resources they have among themselves for supplying their real Wants. Resentment as well as necessity will drive them to improve these to the utmost. And from the genius of the people and the fertility of the soil, it is easy to foresee that in the course of a few years they will find at home an ample supply of all their wants. In the meanwhile their strength, power and numbers are daily increasing, and as the property of land is parcelled out among the inhabitants and almost every farmer is a freeholder, the spirit of Liberty will be kept awake and the love of freedom deeply rooted; and when strength and liberty combine it is easy to foresee that a people will not long submit to arbitrary sway. Thus by a blind infatuation and madness of politics a weak, short sighted ministry have been ruining their Country and hastening a period they seem to dread—by the very means by which they intend to prevent it. I have often viewed with infinite satisfaction the prodigious growth & power of the British Empire—and have pleased myself with the hopes that in a Century or two the British Colonies would overspread this immense territory added to the Crown of Britain—carrying with them the religion of Protestants and the Laws, customs, manners, & language of the Country from whence they sprung; while England, placed at the head of the Empire, superintended the whole, and by the wisdom of her Councils prevented the jarring interests of the several inferior states, united this strength for the general good, and guarded them from the attacks of foreign powers. In such a situation she might have laughed at the compacts of the Bourbon family and defyed the united powers of Europe. But alas the folly of a weak administration has darkened

the prospect, and what the issue will be must be left to Providence, while we, with humble adoration, pray the supreme Governor of the universe to overrule events for the General Good.

I am, s^r^, with great esteem & respect, your sincere Friend,

CHA. THOMSON.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

London, Feb^y^ 5, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I received duly your Favours of Nov. 1 by Capt. Falconer and afterwards that of Oct 26 both enclosing the Letter from the Congress and the Petition to the King. Immediately on Receipt of the first I wrote to every one of the other Gentlemen nominated and desired a meeting to consult on the mode of presenting the Petition committed to our Care. Three of them viz^t^—M^r^ Burke, M^r^ Wentworth, & M^r^ Life, declined being concerned in it, and without consulting each other gave the same reason: viz^t^—That they had no Instructions relating to it from their Constituents. M^r^ Garth was out of Town. So it rested on M^r^ Bollan, M^r^ Lee and myself. We took Council with our best Friends and were advised to present it through Lord Dartmouth, that being the regular official method, and the only one in which we might on occasion call for an Answer. We accordingly waited on his Lordship with it, who would not immediately undertake to deliver it, but requested that it might be left with him to peruse, which was done. He found nothing in it improper for him to present, and afterwards sending for us he informed us that he had presented the Petition to his Majesty, who had been pleased to receive it very graciously and to command him to tell us it contained Matters of such Importance that, as soon as they met, he would lay it before his two Houses

of Parliament. We then consulted on the publication, and were advised by wise and able men, Friends of America whose names it will not be proper to mention, by no means to publish it till it should be before Parliament, as it would be deemed disrespectful to the King. We flattered ourselves from the answer given by Lord D——— that the King would have been pleased to recommend it to the Consideration of Parliament by some message, but we were mistaken. It came down among a great Heap of Letters of Intelligence from Governors and officers in America—Newspapers, Pamphlets, Handbills, &c. from that Country; the last in the List and laid upon the Table with them undistinguished by any particular Recommendation of it to the Notice of either House, and I do not find that it has had any farther notice taken of it as yet than that it has been read as well as the other Papers. To draw it into the attention of the House we petitioned to be heard upon it, but were not permitted, and by the Resolution of the Committee of the whole House, which I enclose, you will see that it has made little Impression, and from the constant Refusal, Neglect or Discouragement of American Petitions, these many years past, our Country will at last be convinced that Petitions are odious here and that Petitioning is far from being a probable means of obtaining Redress. A firm, steady, & faithful adherence to the Non-Consumption Agreement is the only thing to be depended on; it begins already to work (as you will see in the votes of the House) by producing applications from the merchants and manufacturers, and it must finally lead Parliament into reasonable Measures. At present the ministers are encouraged to proceed by the Assurances they receive from America, that the people are not unanimous; that a very great part of them disapprove the Proceedings of the Congress, and would break thro' them if there was in the Country an Army sufficient to support these Friends, as they are called, of Govern-

ment. They rely, too, on being able to divide us still farther by various means, for they seem to have no conception that such a thing as public Spirit or public Virtue anywhere exists. I trust they will find themselves totally mistaken. The Congress is in high Esteem here among all the Friends of Liberty, and their Papers much admir'd. Perhaps nothing of the kind has ever been more thoroughly published or more universally read. Lord Camden spoke highly of the Americans in general and of the Congress particularly in the House of Lords. Lord Chatham said that taking the whole together and considering the members of the Congress as the unsolicited & unbiased Choice of a great free & enlightened People, their Unanimity, their Moderation and their Wisdom, he thought it the most honourable Assembly of men that had ever been known, that the Histories of Greece & Rome gave us nothing equal to it. Lord Shelburne would not admit that the Parliament of Britain could be comparable with it, a Parliament obeying the Dictates of a Ministry who in nine cases out of ten were governed by their under Secretaries.

You will see among the papers herewith sent the motion made by Lord Chatham as preparatory to his Plan, viz: that the Troops should be removed from Boston. I send also a Copy of the Plan itself, which you may be assured is genuine. The Speeches, hitherto published as his during the Session, are spurious.

The Duke of Richmond & the Duke of Manchester appeared for us also in the debate, & spoke extremely well. Lord Chatham's Bill, tho' on so important a Subject, and offered by so great a Character, and supported by such able & learned speakers as Camden, &c., &c., was treated with as much contempt as they could have shown to a Ballad offered by a drunken Porter. It was rejected on a slight reading, without being suffered even to lie on the Table for the perusal of the members. The House of Commons, too,

have shown an equal Rashness and Precipitation in matters that required the most weighty deliberation, refusing to hear and entering hastily into violent Measures. And yet this is the Government by whose Supreme Authority we are to have our Throats cut if we do not acknowledge, and whose dictates we are implicitly to obey, while their conduct hardly entitles them to Common Respect.

The agents have not time to make so many Copies of the papers sent with this, nor indeed of our Letters to the Speakers of the several Assemblies, as would be necessary to send one for each. We therefore send only two, one p. Falconer, and the other p. Lawrence to New York, requesting that you would get them copied at Philadelphia & forward them northward & southward, one to each Speaker, by the earliest Conveyance.

It is thought by our Friends that Lord Chatham's Plan, if it had been enacted here, would have prevented present mischief and might have been the foundation of a lasting good agreement. For tho' in some Points it might not perfectly coincide with our Ideas & Wishes, we might have proposed Modifications or Variations where we should judge them necessary, & in fine the two Countries might have met in perfect union. I hope therefore it will be treated with respect by our writers, and its author honoured for the Attempt; for though he has put some particulars into it as I think merely by way of complying a little with the general prejudices here to make more material Parts go better down, yet I am persuaded he would not otherwise be tenacious of those Parts, meaning sincerely to make us contented & happy as far as consistent with the general welfare.

I need not caution you to let no part of this Letter be copied or printed.

With Great Esteem, I Am, Sir, Your Affectionate Friend & humble servant.

Benj. Franklin.

Ch. Thomson, Esq^{r}.

From John Dickinson.

Dear Sir,

I have rec[d] two Letters from you, but so incessantly am I employed by a thousand various and new Cares & Attention that I have not been able to answer them, and now do not intend to answer them, finding it impossible—yet let me observe, that no youthful Lover ever stript off his Cloathes to step into Bed to his blooming beautiful bride with more delight than I have cast off my Popularity. You may recollect circumstances that are convincing, that my resignation was voluntary, I might have said ardent. Whether I shall ever put on the cumbersome Robes, I know not & care not. However for your Horatian hint of "rebus in arduis" I will pay you with two of equal merit

Hic murus aheneus . .
. . . . .
Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vox instantis Tyranni

I wrote about a week ago to M[r] Hancock desiring Congress to open my English Letters & to send it to me. I also enclosed two Letters one for Gen[l] Lee & another for M[r] John Rutledge. I have never never rec[d] a line from M[r] Hancock since. Do "*flap*" *him*. I wrote also to M[r] Rob[t] Morris on some public affairs. Pray jog him. I have not time to write to Polly. Do tell her I am very well, and want nothing but a good supply of mutton & American Snuff. My affectionate Love to Cousin Hannah & the Girls.

I am, D[r] Sir, your affectionate

John Dickinson

Elizabeth Town, August 7[th], 1776.

FROM THE SAME.

Elizabethtown, August 10th 1776

DEAR SIR,

General Mercer, in Conversation with me yesterday, was so obliging as to mention difficulties to which he found himself subjected Concerning the Command at Amboy, arising from the supposed and yet generally slighted Authority of certain G——ls. He said he thought, for many reasons, the appointment of the person I mentioned to you in a former Letter, to the same rank by the Congress, ought immediately to take place. I told him that I had foreseen the very difficulties he had mentioned some time ago, and had written to Philadelphia on the Subject. He replied He was heartily glad I had, and on further discourse observed that he did not choose to take any step, that would give offence to certain persons by appearing too earnest for the appointment, but that he would write to Congress on the affair in general terms, and requested me to renew my address so as sufficiently to explain the matter. I promised I would, for as I assure you upon my Honor, that he took me out of Company on purpose to mention this Subject to me without my saying a single word that would lead into it. I judged it of more importance than I had yet done, and you know I was well convinced of the propriety of such an Appointment before the General spoke in very handsome terms of the Colonel I mentioned to you. I therefore wish you would communicate the contents of this Letter to such of my friends in Congress as you think, and desire them to use their Interest in procuring the Appointment. I have a good deal to say concerning —— but dont choose to trust to a Letter. I continue very hearty. And don't know but that I may make another remove before I return home. I recd a letter from Genl Washington yesterday and had a very particular Conversa-

tion with Gen[l] Mercer. The enemy are moving—and an attack on New York is quickly expected. As for myself I can form no Idea of a more noble fate than after being the constant advocate for, and Promoter of every measure that could possibly lead to peace or prevent her return from being barr[d] up; after cheerfully & deliberately sacrificing my popularity and all the emoluments I might so certainly have derived from it to Principles; after suffering all the indignities that my Countrymen now bearing Rule are inclined if they could so plentifully to shower down upon my innocent Head willingly to resign my life if divine providence shall please so to dispose of me, even for the defence and happiness of those unkind Countrymen whom I cannot forbear to esteem as fellow Citizens amidst their Fury against me. However I covet not the Glory of such an exit from the Stage of life. Where duty and honor require my presence, there I shall be: But much rather would I desire that these severe masters would give me up to my dear Connections. My books and my fields are Intercourse & Employment for which my Constitution is better formed than for the toils of war—to Cultivate which my temper is more disposed than to relish all the united Glories, could I attain them of every heroic Death from the Roman Curtius to the British Wolfe.

My affectionate Love to Cousin Hannah. I am your sincere friend,

JOHN DICKINSON

Charles Thomson, Esquire.

TO JOHN JAY, MINISTER AT MADRID.

Phila[d], Oct. 12[th], 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your Letter of 27[th] May and the duplicate with the prints, for which I am much

obliged and will embrace the first opportunity of transmitting one set of the prints agreeably to your request to Gen[l] S. I have been anxious with respect to your being regularly informed of what is passing here. Many things have happened since you left us, of which you ought to be acquainted. I perceive the Minister of Spain is desirous to know the state of our finances. They have undergone a considerable Change, since your departure, particularly with regard to the money or paper bills heretofore emitted for the purpose of carrying on the war. On this Subject though I can explain myself to you, it will be no easy matter for you to give a satisfactory Account to people in Europe who are entire strangers to our paper money. And yet this ought to be done to prevent the ill impressions that may be made by the clamours of disappointed men, who hoped to accumulate mountains of wealth from our misfortune. Congress, having before your departure resolved not to emit a greater quantity of Bills than 200 millions Dollars, and having, in order to stop a farther depreciation and fix the value of that Sum, settled the mode of redeeming it by annual assessment for eighteen years, found themselves under a necessity to call upon the States to raise by taxes the Sum of Fifteen Millions a month in order to carry on the war. But as the legislatures were slow in raising the taxes, and the demands of the Public were pressing, the people found they were *solicited* to sell before the want of money *urged* them; and consequently foreseeing that their taxes would be heavy, every one determined to ease himself and make his own particular burden as light as possible by raising the price of Commodities wanted. The result of this was, that the money depreciated more than ever, and the monthly Assessments when paid in were found to be no wise adequate to the public demands, as every thing wanted for the army was, by the month of January, raised to double the nominal price of what it was in the month of October when you left us. The Mer-

chants and Traders, who dealt in foreign articles & who are always watchful to secure themselves, taking advantage of the depreciation raised the price of their commodities to an enormous degree, so that the Commonwealth lay like a Ship stranded, whose mariners instead of exerting themselves to save her were wholly employed in securing to themselves as much of the Cargo as possible, leaving her to the mercy of winds and waves. In order to supply the wants of the Army, which could not be provided for by taxes, Congress in the month of February called on the several States for specific supplies of provisions and forage. But, before these could be brought in, such advantage was taken of the public wants, which were wholly supplied by purchase on Credit, that the nominal debt of the Continent was increased almost beyond calculation. Of this you will easily judge, when you are informed that in the month of March Commodities were sold in the market at Philadelphia at four times the price they were in the month of September. In short a Continental Dollar was valued at no more than a penny half penny, and in many instances not more than a penny, so that the depreciation was fluctuating from 60 to 90 for one, and no body knew where it would settle. Upon this our enemies took Courage and flattering themselves that Congress must sink under these embarassments, they set every engine to work to continue and increase them, by counterfeiting the Currency, multiplying their emissaries to decry its credit, tampering with our army and at the same time prosecuting the war with a greater degree of vigour than they had done from the commencement of it. To the honor of our country, I must inform you that history cannot produce such instances of fortitude, patience and perseverance as were exhibited by our virtuous army. Though exposed to hunger and nakedness amidst the rigours of a most inclement winter they struggled through with unparalleled firmness, and notwithstanding the tempting bribes and

offers of the enemy, and the incredible hardships our Soldiers suffered, the desertions were comparatively few. Congress finding it necessary, in order to baffle the designs of the enemy and curb intestine avarice, to adopt more decided measures, resolved on the 18th of March to call in, by taxes in the course of one year, and burn all the paper bills heretofore emitted to the amount of 200 millions dollars, and in lieu thereof to issue ten millions—new money, which was to be issued as fast and no faster than the old was brought in. That is to say for every 20 Dollars of the old money paid into the treasury, one dollar of the new emission was to be perfected and lodged there for the purposes of the war. It was further resolved that in the payment of Taxes Gold & Silver might be received at the rate of one for 40, at which rate also the new money was to be received, by which means its value was fixed, and those who had amassed large quantities of the old paper were disappointed in their hopes of converting it into gold, dollar for dollar. Congress proceeded farther and fixed the value of the Certificates given for money loaned from Sept. 1777, to March, 1780, rating the value of the continental money on every day between those two periods that the lender might receive the value of the money lent, both principal and Interest, and that the public might not be loaded with a debt for which they had not received an equivalent. For it was judged to be contrary to every rule of right and justice that the landed interest, which is the principal object of taxation should be loaded with the burden of paying off a Certificate for instance of 200 Dollars which was procured with the price of three bushels of wheat or a bushel of salt & sometimes for less, with that number of silver dollars, worth in reality from 60 to 100 times the value of the money lent. And yet this must have been the Case had Congress persisted in the mode of redemption adopted in 1779. These regulations were deemed so

just and equitable that the people acquiesced and the States have generally enacted laws conformable thereto. By these means the debt incurred by a war of six years was fixed at about one or two and twenty millions of dollars—a war which has cost our enemies in the same time upwards of Sixty millions pounds Sterling. I ought to have observed to you that out of the ten millions, issued in lieu of the 200 millions which were ordered to be paid in by taxes and burned, congress assigned six millions to the States to enable them to purchase the specific Articles required of them, reserving four millions for paying the Army and defraying the expenses of transportation and other incidental charges. But while these measures were in agitation and before they could be carried into execution, our enemies pressing on the war with vigour, Congress found themselves exceedingly straitened for want of money and were from necessity forced upon a measure which I fear will give you and our other ministers in Europe some trouble: I mean that of drawing bills here. I would just observe, that if old established nations, populous, rich & powerful, whose Governments are fixed, whose revenues are settled, who have armies raised and fleets equipped, whose towns are fortified and whose arsenals and magazines, are stored with implements and necessaries for War, if such nations find themselves under difficulties for want of Money by one or two years War with a nation weakened and greatly exhausted, what wonder if a young Commonwealth, whose inhabitants are poor and thinly scattered over a large extent of country, which was just emerging from the difficulties of settling a wilderness, and which being without arms, ammunition or Military Stores and without any established government, what wonder if such a nation, under such circumstances forced into a war with one of the most powerful nations in the world, should, after carrying on that war for six years with no other revenue than the voluntary contributions of the people, find its self

embarrassed in its finances and under a necessity of applying for aid to other nations whose interest it is to humble the power with which it is contending? If England unassisted by a single ally can give such annoyance, as she has done these two last Campaigns, to the combined arms of France, Spain and America, what must be the consequence if for want of a little assistance in money, she is suffered to triumph over these United States and again subjugate them or a part of them to her yoke. To our want of money may be ascribed the Enemy's success in Carolina. For although Congress had timely notice of Sir H. Clinton's intentions last fall and notwithstanding his tedious passage and the slowness of his proceeding after his arrival, owing to the losses he had sustained by a violent storm on his voyage, yet for want of money Congress could not forward with sufficient dispatch the succour intended, and consequently the Communication between Charlestown and the country was cut off and the enemy had time by regular approaches to force a surrender. After this General Gates was sent to take the command to the Southward. The States of Virginia and North Carolina furnished a very considerable body of militia with which, joined to the Maryland and Delaware regulars, consisting of about 1200 men, who were on their march to the southward and had been destined for the relief of Charlestown, he began to move forward. But having no tents to cover his men, no magazines of provisions laid up, and no money to procure either, and the Country through which he marched being thinly inhabited he was exposed to incredible difficulties and hardships. Having entered South Carolina and broken up the Enemy's posts on the river Pedee, as his men were still without Shelter and the rainy season was approaching in which his Troops must suffer, encouraged by sundry successful enterprizes he was induced to march towards Camden with the hopes of driving the enemy from thence and establishing his head quarters in that village,

where he would have been able to have put his troops under cover and supplied them plentifully with provisions and confined the enemy to the low Country; in which case they would have been obliged either to retire into Charlestown and leave him the Command of the country, or by attempting to keep the field would have exposed their army in the sickly Season to a Loss by Death equal to a defeat. Unfortunately he failed in the attempt. The battle of the 16 of August, which you have a particular account of in the public papers, broke up the army he had collected and forced him back into North Carolina. The Maryland and Delaware regulars, who in the action did not amount to more than 1000 stood their ground with great firmness, and acquired much honor, and had they been properly supported by the militia would in all probability have made it a glorious day for America. The character of the General has suffered by his rapid flight, and a Court of Enquiry is ordered on his conduct. The check however which the enemy received from our regulars prevented them from improving the victory they had gained. And the spirited Conduct of the militia immediately after the action, a party of whom, consisting of about 200 under Col. Williams, on the 19 August engaged between four and five hundred British, killed 60 on the field and took 70 prisoners, and another party under Col. Marion, some days after rescued 150 of our regulars who were made prisoners on the 16th, and captured the escort that was conducting them to Charlestown. This spirited Conduct with some other successful enterprizes of less note has reanimated our people and disheartened the enemy so that the Consequences of the defeat are not so distressful as might have been apprehended. The Armies in this quarter have hitherto had an inactive Campaign. The arrival of the first division of the French fleet and Army gave us sanguine hopes of regaining New York; but the detention of the second division and the superiority of the British fleet have

disappointed our expectations. The fleet in the West Indies seem to have spent the summer in maneuvring. Upon the junction of the French and Spanish fleets they directed their course for Jamaica and had they improved their opportunity, it is the general opinion they would have succeeded and subdued that island without any difficulty as the Garrisons were chiefly withdrawn and there was no fleet to guard the Harbours. But by some unaccountable delay they suffered a fleet under Walsingham to get there before them and a reinforcement of troops to be thrown into the island, which as the harricane Season was coming on rendered the attempt imprudent if not impracticable and secured that island at least for the present. Hereupon the combined fleet separated, the Spanish steered for Havannah and the French fleet put into Cape Francois in St Domingo. The Count De Guichen after some stay left the cape, and directed his course northerly and coasted along our shores. This it is supposed alarmed Rodney to that degree, that anxious for the safety of the fleet and army at New York, he immediately left the Windward Islands and with 14 or 15 sail of the line and some frigates steered for that place where he now is. The late providential discovery of Arnold's Plot, which appears to have been for a considerable time in agitation, has induced a belief that Rodney had something farther in view than merely to counteract the design of Count De Guichen. In a controversy and revolution such as this, where former friendships and intimacies subsisted between the contending parties and where men of upright intentions took different sides, and men of all characters were engaged in the contest, it would not have been strange or uncommon if conspiracies had been formed before this, but to the honor of the American Army, Arnold is the first and I believe the only American officer who has during the war entered into a conspiracy with the enemy to betray his country. You know the character of the man. He was

brave but avaricious, fond of parade and not very scrupulous about the means of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. He had married a young woman who had been distinguished by Gen[l] Howe, meschianze. [Here are two lines in the original erased. I can discern the words, "Her father is not remarkable for his attachment to the American cause." W. B. R.] The expensive manner in which Arnold lived in Philadelphia reduced his finances; and the accounts he exhibited against the public underwent scrutiny at the board of Treasury, much to the disadvantage of his honor and honesty. This, joined to his disappointments in the Case of the Active, and the result of the Court Martial instituted on the complaint of the Council of Pensylvania, drove him to desperate measures & rendered him a fit object for Clinton's views. By letters found among his private papers it appears that major André, one of S[r] H. Clinton's aids de camp, had commenced a correspondence with M[rs] Arnold in 1779 under pretence of supplying her with millinery. Whether it was continued until it was ripened into the plot of betraying *West Point* into the hands of the enemy I will not undertake to say, but that the scheme had been some time in agitation appears evidently from this, that while the enemy were making preparations for executing their purpose and giving out that their design was against Virginia, the same reports were circulated in Lord Cornwallis' camp in South Carolina, and measures were taken to make us believe he meant to second the expedition by marching through North Carolina and forming a junction with S[r] Henry on his arrival in Virginia: at this time Rodney arrived at New York, and it is conjectured, the design was upon gaining possession of West Point and cutting off the communication between the Eastern and Southern States, to turn their whole force against the French fleet and Army at Rhode Island. This it is true is but conjecture. But it must be confessed the object was great; and had Rodney succeeded, he would have finished the

year with as much eclat as he began it. The providential discovery of the Plot blasted the Schemes of our enemies; what their next object will be time must unfold. I suppose you will be informed, through another channel, that after the surrender of Charlestown, M^r^ Laurens returned to Philadelphia & for some time took his seat in Congress, and after a few weeks Stay he embarked for Holland on his first appointment. You will also without doubt hear of M^r^ Searle's embarking for Europe. The design of his going is a profound secret; but it is conjectured that he is sent on some business by the Council of this State.

I am mistaken in the Character of the man if his business and mission remain long a secret after his arrival.

Mrs. T. requests me to make her Compliments to Mrs. J.—you will please to add mine. I am, &c,

C. T.

From John Jay.

Madrid, 23^rd^ April, 1781.

Dear Sir,

On the 30 January last I had the pleasure of rec^g^ your very acceptable Letter of the 12 Oct. 1780. The able manner in which it treats the important subject of American Finance induced me to give that Part of it to the minister and to send a Copy of the same extract to D^r^ Franklin who in his answer says. "I thank you for communicating to me the Letter of the Secretary of Congress on our Finances. It gives light which I had not before and may be useful here." I wish in my Heart that you were not only Secretary of Congress but Secretary also for Foreign Affairs. I should then have better sources of Intelligence than Gazettes and Reports. My public Letter contains a state of our affairs here. I flatter myself that Congress will never again attempt to form an alliance on principles of equality in *forma*

pauperis. Before their ungenerous Letter on our Right to the Mississippi arrived it was known in Europe, and the substance of my last instructions on that Head were no secret here before they reached this side of the Ocean. I would tell you more had I now time to write in Cyphers, but the Gentleman who is to carry these Dispatches is waiting for them. The want of a regular and safe Communication between Congress and their foreign ministers gives occasion to various Inconveniences. Every Letter known or suspected to be for or from me that gets into the Post office is opened, often kept back a while and to my certain knowledge sometimes suppressed entirely. Hence it happens that Congress receives from me fewer Letters than I would wish or than their affairs may demand. The expence of private Couriers is intolerable, nor can many in that Character be found who merit confidence. The unseasonable arrival of Bills without being preceded by Funds and the train of perplexing Consequences resulting from that and other Causes not in my power to prevent have given me some anxious Hours & often rendered my situation uneasy. It is my business however to reflect that Pleasure was not the object for which I came here & that obstacles should rather excite than repress Perseverance. Be pleased to present M^rs^ Jays & my Compliments to M^rs^ Thomson & believe same to be with sincere Regard & Esteem your most obd^t^ Servant,

JOHN JAY.

Cha^s^ Thomson Esq^r^

TO JOHN JAY, MINISTER AT MADRID.

Philadelphia, July 11, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

My Letter of the 12^th^ of October gave you some account of the situation of affairs in the southern department. The total defeat of the Army under Gates,

on the 16th August left the enemy at liberty to over run South Carolina without annoyance, except from the militia, who being unembodied and thinly scattered over an extent of Country could not be soon collected in the face of the powerful and victorious enemy. However the small parties that got together acted with such spirit and determined resolution as shewed that they did not think themselves conquered. In order to subdue and break their spirits. Cornwallis sent a powerful detachment under major Ferguson to ravage and waste the Country. He was at first joined by a number of disaffected whom the enemy call Loyalists. But a body of militia, hastily collected by their officers, met and drove him back and coming up with him at a place called *King's Mountain*, after a severe conflict entirely defeated him. [7 Oct. 1780.] Ferguson and a considerable number of their officers fell in the action. Only 21 escaped; the rest of the party, which amounted to upwards of a thousand, were either killed or taken prisoners. After the action the militia retreated & carried their prisoners beyond the mountains, where they were out of the reach of the enemy. After this Cornwallis proceeded with more caution and established a number of posts in order to secure his conquests and over the country, compelling the inhabitants, under pain of military execution, to come and take the oath of allegiance. During this time Greene, who had been sent to succeed Gates, had arrived in North Carolina and was there busily employed in collecting the small remains of the Southern army, and drawing together some militia in order to cover and defend that State. But before he could collect a sufficient force, Cornwallis put his army in motion with a view to extend his Conquest & penetrate further into the country. For this purpose while he advanced with his main army, Col. Tarleton with his Legion, consisting of dragoons and a select band of light infantry, was moving forward in a parallel direction at some considerable distance. Greene, though his force was small, had ad

vanced as far as the river Pedee on the borders of South Carolina and had sent forward Brig[d] Morgan with Col. Washington's Corps of light dragoons and a detachment of the Maryland line under Col. Howard. This detachment being joined by Col. Pickens & five hundred militia, making in the whole about one thousand, fell in with Tarletons army of about the same number, at a place called the *Cowpens,* when a smart engagement ensued, in which Tarleton was defeated, a considerable number killed and upwards of six hundred taken prisoners, [17 Jan[y], 1781.] Tarleton was pursued for several miles, but escaped with a few horse and joined Cornwallis. This Stroke irritated Cornwallis to that degree that he determined at all hazards, if possible, to recover the prisoners & to be revenged on Morgan. For this purpose, without taking time to remove his baggage and heavy stores to a place of Security, after equipping his army as light troops and taking out just what was necessary, he burned the remainder of his waggons and baggage and immediately set out in quest of Morgan, who sensible of his inferiority had prudently retired in order to convey the prisoners & stores he had taken to a place of Safety. Morgan directed his course to North Carolina. He had several rivers to pass, coming up to one of them he crossed it in the evening & Cornwallis was so close upon him that he reached the same the next morning. But fortunately a heavy rain had fallen in the night, which swelled the river to that degree that his lordship could not transport his army across for two days. This gave Morgan an opportunity of sending his prisoners forward in safety while he remained on the north bank of the river, to oppose or retard the passage of the enemy. At this critical moment Gen[l] Greene arrived there upon hearing of Morgan's success, foreseeing the consequences and apprehensive that Cornwallis by a rapid pursuit might get between him and Morgan he ordered his baggage to be removed to Hillsborough and the troops under his im-

mediate command to be led back to Guilford while he rode across the country to meet Morgan & direct his march so as to form a junction of the two divisions. His Lordship's rage was still unabated—as soon as the waters fell he forded the river and continued his pursuit, flattering himself with the hopes of overtaking and crushing that party. But Greene who saw his danger and knew how much depended on saving his little army, prudently retired as fast as Cornwallis advanced and took such precautions as eluded all the arts and efforts of Cornwallis & effected a junction with his other division. Notwithstanding this his numbers were too few to risk an engagement & therefore continued his retreat. In this manner they proceeded, the one advancing while the other retreated by long and rapid marches quite across the state of North Carolina. When his Lordship reached the banks of *Dan* on the border of Virginia, having continued the pursuit upwards of two hundred miles, finding his troops fatigued and harrassed with a fruitless march and gaining intelligence that the militia of Virginia was in motion to support Greene, he thought it prudent to measure back his steps; and therefore after making for several days a show of preparations to cross the river, while he was sending off his sick and wounded he suddenly broke up his Camp and directed his course towards Hillsborough. Greene now being reinforced with a few militia recrossed the Dan and pursued Cornwallis, endeavoring to overtake and bring him to an action with as much diligence as he had before avoided him. When Cornwallis reached Hillsborough, which is the Seat of Government in North Carolina, he pretended to halt and make a parade of erecting the royal standard and with an air of triumph & ridiculous ostentation set his presses to work and issued proclamations commanding the people to repair to his Standard and to come and assist in establishing civil government. But before his proclamation was well dry he suddenly decamped and leav-

ing Hillsborough filed off towards Guilford. Greene, by rapid marches, overtook him at Guilford court house [15 March, 1781] where an action ensued. Our people behaved with great gallantry; but just in the moment of victory, by one of those chances in Battle which prudence oftimes can neither foresee, nor prevent, our troops were thrown into disorder, and Greene knowing how difficult it is to rally militia in the moment of Battle and bring them again to action, and how dangerous to attempt it & not succeed, thought proper to retire and leave the enemy the honor of the field. Greene retreated about three miles and then halted and collected his troops. The enemy had suffered so much in the action that they did not think proper to pursue the victory, but filed off another way. Greene upon halting a few days, to refresh his troops and give the enemy an opportunity to renew the engagement, finding they kept at a distance, advanced to give them battle, but Cornwallis, not being willing to risk a second engagement, hastily decamped, leaving his sick & wounded to our mercy. Greene pursued him several Days, though he had little hopes of overtaking or forcing him to an action. And as the enemy had advanced into a desert part of the Country, where it was impossible for him to procure supplies or subsist his army he dropped the pursuit and suffered his lordship to proceed with the shattered remains of his army to Wilmington. Not withstanding the weakness of his army Greene determined to pursue his main object, which was the relief of South Carolina and at least to drive the enemy out of the upper Country and confine them within the limits of Charlestown. Therefore without losing time or suffering himself to be diverted by any new scheme which Cornwallis might have in view, he turned his face to the southward and crossing the Pedee and breaking up some posts in his way marched to Camden and sat down before it. When Cornwallis marched in pursuit of Morgan, he left Lord

Rawdon to command in South Carolina. The troops which Cornwallis had left behind were employed to garrison the posts established to overawe the Militia and inhabitants of the Country but were insufficient for this purpose. For while Cornwallis was traversing the woods & wilds of North Carolina in pursuit of a phantom which always seemed within his reach but which he could never overtake, Sumter and Marion, two spirited officers of Sth Carolina, having collected a Body of militia secured the lower part of that State, cooped up the Garrison of Charlestown, intercepted the supplies going in and coming out, and surprised sundry posts within a few miles of the town. Rawdon's Head Quarters were at Camden, which was considered as a place of great consequence not only on account of its Situation for commanding the upper Country but because it covered Cornwallis's rear while in pursuit of Greene and might serve as a post to retreat to in case of disaster. It was well secured with a Redoubt, and garrisoned with a considerable body of Troops. When Greene arrived before it he found the force he had brought with him too small to invest it. He therefore took such a position that would straiten the enemy and might tempt them to make a sally, in which case if he should be so fortunate as to cut them off, he fondly hoped he might force the garrison to surrender or to evacuate the place. According to his expectation the enemy finding their quarters straitened & their supplies interrupted made a sally, and Greene had taken his measures so well that they were driven back with considerable slaughter and nearly surrounded. [April 25, 1781.] But here again fortune proved inauspicious. An order, as it is said of one of the officers to the Troops under his Command to take a new position, was construed into an order to retreat and threw the Corps into confusion. The enemy immediately took advantage of this and returning to the charge compelled Greene to retire almost two miles. But though Greene lost the

Honor of the day he reaped almost the same advantage from the action as from a victory. For Rawdon had lost so many men that he was afraid of suffering himself to be again shut up in the place and therefore after setting fire to the town he quitted it and retired towards Charlestown. Greene pursued him some distance, but judging it more important to break up the enemy's posts than to continue the pursuit he invested and took forts Granby, Motte, &c., &c., &c. And one of his detached parties advanced as far as Georgetown surprized and broke up the post there. He then suddenly turned back and invested *Ninety-Six*, the only remaining post held by the enemy in the upper part of South Carolina. At the same time he sent a detachment against Augusta, which is the principal if not the only post of the enemy in the upper part of Georgia. We have no official accounts of his success against those places, but private information puts it beyond all doubt that Lieu[t] Col. Lee has succeeded against Augusta and compelled the Garrison, consisting of several hundred men, to surrender, and there is some reason to hope that Greene is in possession of *Ninety-Six*, in which case the enemy will have nothing left in those two States but the Posts of Charlestown and Savannah.

In order to prevent the state of Virginia from sending aid to the Southern States, Leslie with a body of Troops was sent from New York into Chesapeak bay and landed at Portsmouth. Soon after Greene set out to take the Command [24 Oct. 1780] in the Southern department, this was one principal reason why Greene's army continued so weak. For he was obliged to suffer the troops of Virginia, which were to have joined him, to remain under the Command of Baron Steuben for the defence of their own State. After some time Leslie was sent to South Carolina [arrived at Charlestown 13 Dec. Marched from thence to join Cornwallis with 1500 men 19 Dec. 1780. Arnold arrived in Virginia 30 Dec. 1780] to reinforce Cornwallis, and Arnold, with a more considerable force, was sent to Virginia,

to take post there and to make an impression on, or at least to harrass and plunder the Country lying on both sides of Chesapeak, which being intersected by a great number of navigable rivers is much exposed to a predatory war. For this purpose he was accompanied with a great number of frigates and private armed vessels, which, after his defeat at Portsmouth, spread themselves over the bay & running up the various rivers landed their men in many places and practised a mode of warfare unknown in modern times and unpractised by the civilized nations of Europe, robbing, plundering and burning the houses of the peaceful farmers. To put a stop to these ravages and with a view to make a stroke at Arnold, General Washington detached about one thousand choice troops under the command of Major General the Marquis de la Fayette. He had concerted his measures with the commander of the French fleet and army at Rhode Island. And as the British fleet at Gardner's Bay had been lately roughly handled in a storm, one of their ships being lost, another dismasted and a third separated & driven to sea, it was agreed that the French fleet, which was now equal if not superior to the British, should take on board some land forces and proceed to the Chesapeak there to co-operate with Fayette. The plan was well concerted & executed with as much dispatch and secresy as possible. But the British used such diligence in repairing their damaged ships & that which was driven to sea & which it was conjectured was lost, returning safe into port, they were ready to put to sea by the time the French admiral sailed from Rhode Island, the fleets met off Chesapeak bay & came to an engagement [16 March, 1781] in which the French, though of inferior strength, maintained the Combat with great gallantry ; but one of their largest ships being much damaged in her rudder and the enemy instead of availing themselves of their superiority of strength having parted and slipped into the bay, the expedition was disconcerted and

the French commander returned to Rhode Island with his disabled ships in order to refit. The Marquis in the meanwhile proceeded on; and although he was detained so long in Elk river by contrary winds that the enemy gained intelligence of his movements and destination and sent up frigates to intercept him, yet by watching a favourable opportunity he crossed the bay and landed his troops safe at Annapolis. Finding it too hazardous to proceed farther by water he marched his detachments by land through Maryland, crossed Potomack at Alexandria and entering Virginia directed his course for Richmond which Arnold had reached with his band of plunderers. Steuben had exerted his utmost endeavours to check the progress of the enemy but they having the command of the water eluded his efforts. However he succeeded so far as to remove most part of the public stores out of their way. At the approach of Fayette they retired down the river to Portsmouth, after burning an iron works & manufactory of arms in the neighbourhood of Richmond & destroying or carrying off a considerable quantity of tobacco, which was lodged in the warehouses on the river.

Clinton, flattered with the success his arms had met with in Virginia, and sensible how much weight the *eclat* of invading that state would give to the measures of administration in England at the opening of the new Parliament, sent Major General Phillips with large reinforcements to take the command. If we may credit reports, the two Generals were not very agreeable to each other. Arnold now saw that he lost the opportunity of enriching himself by plunder and the emoluments of command. And Phillips held in the utmost Contempt the abilities and character of the traitor. They continued some time together and advanced from Portsmouth to Petersburgh, where Phillips was suddenly taken ill and in two or three days expired. Various reports were circulated respecting his death, some attributing it to a fever, others to poison administered by Arnold, on whom by this event the

command again devolved. However that might be, it is pretty certain that no good understanding now subsisted between Arnold & his troops. The officers who came with Phillips, and especially those of his family, bore with reluctance the command of Arnold; and it is not improbable that this might have proved very advantageous to us, had not Cornwallis in that critical moment come up and assumed the command. After parting with Greene near Crosscreek in North Carolina he had proceeded with the remains of his army to Wilmington and there having refreshed his troops and being reinforced by a small detachment that had been sent from Charlestown, marched through North Carolina by the way of Halifax, entered Virginia and joined the army under Arnold at Petersburgh. Soon after this junction Arnold quitted the army, and returned to New York, and now the itinerant General immediately put his troops in motion & crossing James's River at Richmond proceeded up the Country into the heart of Virginia. The General Assembly of the state which was then convened, had, in order to be out of his way, removed from Richmond to Charlotteville. But Cornwallis, finding a plentiful supply of fine horses in the stables of private Gentlemen, mounted a considerable body of his men on horseback, and sent them up and down the country in parties to burn Mills & ravage the houses and farms of the planters, and to carry off their negro slaves. A considerable detachment under Tarleton by a rapid march penetrated as far as Charlotteville, where the Assembly were sitting and had well nigh surprized and taken the whole prisoners. Fortunately they got notice of his approach just time enough to make their escape and crossing the mountains convened at Staunton where they held their session. Greene had received no advice of the reinforcements sent to Virginia & not imagining that Cornwallis would be so mad as to undertake a march with his harrassed troops through the swamps and deserts of North Carolina and

leave his guests in South Carolina an easy prey to his antagonist, had ordered Steuben to join him with a detachment of the Virginia troops. And in Consequence of this order Steuben had separated from Fayette and proceeded on his march to the borders of North Carolina. Fayette being thus weakened was unable to stop the progress of Cornwallis and therefore fell back as his lordship advanced. But being joined by a detachment of the Pennsylvania line under Wayne he suddenly turned upon the enemy, and by a rapid and judicious movement threw himself between them and Albemarle Court House, to which Course they were directing their march to destroy a magazine of public Stores. Here he took such a position that kept the enemy in check. In the mean time Steuben, who had received counter orders, was hastening up to join him, and the militia from every quarter was coming to his assistance. Upon this change of affairs, Cornwallis who is not less renowned for retrograde movements when vigorously opposed than for rapid advances where no danger threatens, hastily retreated and in two nightly marches measured back upwards of fifty miles. The marquis pressed after him with equal rapidity. When Cornwallis reached Richmond he seemed as if he intended to make a stand, and sent out a party to attack the advance guards of the marquis, and at the same time drew out his army as if he meant to support the attack and hazard a general engagement. But the advance guard met the assailants with such firmness and the marquis marched on to their support with such spirits and order that Cornwallis thought proper not to wait his approach; but resumed his order of retreat & therefore quitting Richmond he posted down to Williamsburg and the marquis continued to follow him. Their superiority in Cavalry gave the enemy great advantage, and enabled them in these rapid movements to cover their rear. That they might not however wholly escape, the marquis pushed on some light troops &

riflemen to skirmish with their rear and if possible retard the march of the army until he could come up. But the enemy proceeded with such diligence and rapidity that it was impossible to over take them until Major Macpherson, mounting fifty of the infantry, besides as many dragoons, pressed on and immediately began an attack. This was within six miles of Williamsburg. The riflemen coming up took such good aim that the enemy thought proper to retreat within their lines, leaving sixty killed and one hundred wounded. Cornwallis had taken such a position on the strong grounds near Williamsburg that the marquis did not judge it prudent to attempt dislodging him. Lord Cornwallis by his travels through the Southern States must by this time have gained some knowledge of the disposition of the Americans, and may if he pleases from his own experience inform his Court what little foundation there is for those idle reports and surmises with which the nation of Great Britain has been so long amused & deceived, that, the Bulk of the people are in favour of Britain, that the opposition & the war are upheld & supported by a faction. In his marches from Charlestown to Camden, from Camden to Dan, from Dan through the whole extent of North Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Richmond in Virginia and from Richmond to the foot of the Blue Ridge and thence down to Williamsburg and the sea coast a route of upwards of eleven hundred miles without computing his deviations from the straight road, what accession of force did he gain, what supplies or assistance did he receive except from those immediately in his power & who were under the terror of his arms? who was it but the armed yeomanry of the Country, that opposed his march and forced him so often to tread back his steps with so much speed? and yet at this time the people were in a great degree in a state of nature being free from all restraints of Government and at liberty to act according to the impression and dictates of their own wills. In South

Carolina civil government was wholly suspended; North Carolina was in such confusion and tumult by the sudden invasion that government had no time to exert itself and the people were left to act from the immediate impulses of their own minds. The case was nearly the same in Virginia when the assembly retired from Richmond to Charlotteville and from thence across the mountains to Augusta. And yet as fast as the people could arm themselves they repaired to the continental standard. And joining the few regular troops in the field bravely and voluntarily exposed their lives in defence of their rights and liberties. And could a sufficient number of arms have been procured, and put in the hands of the volunteer militia, his lordship would have been sooner convinced to his cost of the ridiculous absurdity of such idle reports & assertions. There is another instance that ought not to be omitted & which demonstrates in the clearest manner what a deep rooted and national hatred of Britain possesses the minds of the people. I mentioned in my last the great embarrassments in our finances. During the time of those great exertions already mentioned, the public treasury was in a manner empty, the army unpaid and ill supplied with provisions and worse with cloaths when the troops under Gen[l] Washington, were separated and sent into their winter Cantonments, some British deserters who had been enlisted in the Pennsylvania line took advantage of the uneasiness occasioned by the want of money, cloaths & provisions and of some Complaints on account of the terms of their enlistment & incited them to a mutiny & open revolt. The news of their revolt quickly reached New York, and Clinton, from a fond hope of turning it to his advantage, immediately dispatched two emissaries to the mutineers with large offers of reward if they would go over & join him: and even proceeded so far as to march with a body of troops to the west end of Staten Island with a view to facilitate the junction if they accepted his offers, or to support them in case

they should be attacked by the troops of the other states. But so great was their aversion to the British that they immediately seized his emissaries & kept them closely confined, declaring at the same time that though they were driven by wrongs and distresses to the present measures they looked for redress from no other quarter than from the state to which they belonged, and that in case Clinton advanced to take advantage of their seeming defection from the cause they would instantly put themselves under the Command of their officers and convince him that their attachment to the Cause was the same it ever was. And to give further force to their declarations they advanced from Princeton to Trenton there to meet the Deputies who were sent to hear and redress their grievances and deliver up to them the emissaries, who were executed as spies. I should now give you some accounts of civil affairs and matters of a more private nature: but I imagine you are pretty well tired of this minute detail of military transactions, and as you will receive from others whose duty it is to give, information respecting some arrangements lately taken, I will spare you. The enclosed official letter will inform you that M^r. Huntington having been obliged on account of the ill state of his health to apply for leave of absence and to quit the Chair, Congress have proceeded to the election of another president and their choice has fallen on M^r M^cKean. You have also a cypher enclosed, which you may use either for your public dispatches or for your private letters to your friend the sec^ry who presents his most respectful compliments to M^rs J—— and begs your acceptance of the same.

August 9th, 1781.

Since writing the foregoing letter I have seen Germaine's intercepted letters, which were forwarded by you. Is it not astonishing that the experience of six years' fruitless, expensive and ruinous war has not yet

taught the nation or the rulers of the nation of Britain wisdom? Because our army is small is the conquest of America therefore easy and certain? Can they have forgotten that the war was begun when we had not a single soldier in the field? That it was the yeomanry of the country who quitting their peaceful farms rushed to arms in 1775, repelled the invaders at Lexington and cooped up General Gage's army at Boston, fought the battle of Bunker Hill and voluntarily engaged to continue in service until January following in hopes of driving the enemy before that time out of their Capital & territories and obtaining a redress of their grievances? Are they ignorant or have they forgotten from our inexperience or from the strength of the works and of the place the siege having continued longer than was expected, the first army disbanded at the expiration of the term and another was inlisted for a year without raising the siege and without the enemy's being able to take any advantage of the change. And that soldiers of a few weeks standing at the opening of the next spring compelled a veteran army, covered with works and supported by a fleet, to evacuate and abandon that Place. The smallness of the invading force, though it was double what some of their generals vainly boasted to be amply sufficient to subdue this whole Continent, and their inexperience of the temper and disposition of the Americans may be alledged as an apology for continuing in error. But surely the experience of the two next Campaigns might have taught the nation some useful lessons of wisdom. Not relying on the strength of their own country they hired a powerful army of foreign mercenaries which joined to a large reinforcement of national troops were sent in 1776 with a large and well appointed fleet to invade this Country and by one effort to crush all opposition and effectually extinguish what they were pleased to style rebellion. To preserve the utmost harmony between the fleet and army, Gage was recalled & the command of the land forces given to S^ir^ William Howe

& that of the fleet to his brother Lord Howe. The terror of this force only served to rouse the Americans to more daring deeds: they boldly renounced their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, declared themselves free and independent, took in their hands the reins of government and established Constitutions founded on the principles of Liberty; and at the same time the youth and even hoary age quitting the sweets of domestic ease and repose hastened to the field to meet the conflict. Their first efforts were baffled by the numbers as well as by the superior skill and military discipline of the enemy and the change of living & fatigues of a military life to which they were unaccustomed wasted their strength by sickness still however they forced the foe, and when forced to retire they retired with an indignant and unbroken spirit. At the expiration of the term for which they engaged, they again returned to their farms, and Gen[l] Washington was left in the beginning of December, 1776, with only about 2000 men to secure the stores and baggage of the army and to cover his sick and wounded. One might have imagined that the Contest was now at an end. The insulting foe traversed New Jersey, established their posts on the banks of the Delaware which they threatened to pass, and Congress not thinking it safe to continue in Philadelphia quitted that City and removed to Baltimore in Maryland. But while the enemy were pleasing themselves with their easy Conquest and flattering themselves with the fond hope of enjoying the sweets of victory they were suddenly roused from their visionary dreams. Washington having sent forward his sick and wounded to Philadelphia and removed his baggage and stores to a distance in the middle of winter, being reinforced by the militia of the neighboring states, suddenly recrossed the Delaware, surprised the post at Trenton & captured the garrison. Upon this the enemy quitted their other posts on the river and fled back to Brunswick where Cornwallis with the bulk of the army had taken

up his winter quarters. This stroke as severe as unexpected astonished and roused the enemy. They immediately took the field & marched to Trenton, hoping to bring on an action. The two armies were in sight of each other and in the evening were only divided by a small brook. But in the night Washington quietly decamped leaving his fires burning and turning the enemy's left gained their rear and marching to Princeton attacked & defeated a detachment which was posted there. The sound of his cannon waked Cornwallis, who finding himself out-generalled and being apprehensive for the safety of his stores & baggage left at Brunswick posted back with the utmost expedition, while Washington filing off to the left marched to Morristown & there established his head quarters. Upon this the people of New Jersey, to whom the enemy on their advancing into that State had promised pardon and protection provided they returned to their allegiance and remained quiet, but whom in the hour of success and insolence of victory they had treated with insult, outrage and brutality being fired with resentment flew to arms and drove the enemy within their lines and then kept them in continual alarms during the whole winter. It might reasonably have been expected that the experience then gained, would have taught the British generals that marching through a country is not subduing it and that the success of the American Cause did not wholly rest on the number of enlisted troops marshalled under Gen[l] Washington: still however they flattered themselves with the hopes of Conquest. Their army was numerous and well appointed. The forces sent to Canada had driven out the Americans who had made an irruption into that province and they were in preparation to act in concert with Howe the ensuing Campaign; besides sundry Americans from timidity or disaffection had deserted the Cause of their Country and joined the enemy, flattering them with the hope that many more would follow their example. With

these hopes and expectations they entered upon the Campaign of 1777 and while the troops on the side of Canada with their Indian allies were advancing to attack our northern frontier, Howe again attempted to march through New Jersey into Pennsylvania but finding an opposition which he little expected he led back his troops to New York, embarked them on board a fleet prepared to receive them and sailing up Chesapeak Bay landed at the head of it and from thence directed his march for Philadelphia. The country through which he had to pass was favourable to his views. It furnished a plentiful supply of provisions and forage, and being chiefly inhabited by Quakers who are principled against bearing arms, and averse to revolutions, it afforded the means of intelligence & gave very little opposition by its militia. Gen[l] Washington, who had by this time drawn together about 10.000 men, met him on his way and gave him battle at Brandywine. The issue of the battle was not so bad as might have been apprehended considering the disparity of the two armies in numbers and discipline. Though Gen[l] Washington was obliged to retreat, he saved his baggage & brought off almost all his Cannon. After this Howe continued his march and got possession of Philadelphia. But what mighty advantage did he reap from this? He had the satisfaction of burning and destroying a number of elegant country seats around the City, of cutting down the orchards and fruit trees to form abattis, redoubts, to secure him from assault; of maltreating the inhabitants who remained in the City, and of starving to death the prisoners in his power to gratify the vindictive malice of himself and his master; but did he conquer the Country or dispose the people to submission? nothing like it. The extent of his conquest to the Close of the Campaign did not exceed four miles square; nor would it have been so great had it not been secured on three sides by two large rivers & impassable marshes. The most he could boast of was that he

had not been conquered and that he had gained a secure winter quarters though not without a considerable slaughter of his troops at the defence of the river and at the battle of Germantown, [4 Oct. 1777] where he halted his army before he entered the City and where Washington attacked him with great spirit and drove his army several miles. Burgoyne who led the army from Canada had to march through a Country inhabited by a different sort of People and therefore experienced a different fate. The inhabitants not being restrained by principles of religion or policy flew to arms and after defeating his detachments and obstructing his march at last compelled him to surrender himself and his whole army. Hitherto force had been tried in vain. The possession of Philadelphia which the nation was taught to believe would conclude the contest, produced no such effect. Washington lay at a small distance, where he had taken up his winter quarters and erected temporary huts to shelter his men from the inclemency of the weather till the opening of the spring. The Country was in his possession and the spirits of the people were still unbroken. The want of success was now attributed to the conduct of the General and Admiral; and a vain hope was entertained that a Change of men would produce a change of events. The Howes therefore were recalled and suffered to retire and Clinton was sent to take the Command of the land forces and a new admiral appointed to take Command of the fleet. But at this period a turn in the politics of France and a treaty concluded between that nation and United States excited fears in the British cabinet that their schemes of conquest might prove abortive. They therefore had recourse to artifice and resolved to try whether they could not by delusive arts and insidious promises subjugate those whom they found they could not subdue by force. They flattered themselves with an opinion that the bulk of the people of America were tired of the war; that their deep rooted affection for the mother country

was not yet eradicated; that they would return to their allegiance upon the promise of pardon and partial redress of grievances, and by operating on their hopes, their fears and their prejudices they might be drawn into a snare and again subjected to the yoke of bondage. For this purpose Commissioners were sent over to treat of peace. But their arts were as unavailing as their arms. The offers of pardon were rejected with scorn. The proposals of peace were mixed with too much cunning to deceive. Clinton therefore from a dread of being blocked up by a French fleet thought it prudent to evacuate Philadelphia and the Campaign of 1778 was only distinguished by his rapid flight across New Jersey, [28 June 1778] by his being worsted at the battle of Monmouth and by his leading back his army to New York which Howe had gained possession of in 1776. Notwithstanding their attempts had hitherto been fruitless and their future prospects of success were lessened by France engaging in the war their dreams of domination were not yet over. The depreciation of the Continental Currency raised a new vision which flattered their hopes. The weak Condition of the Southern States and the number of slaves, whom they expected to debauch and arm against their masters, promised an easy conquest of that part of the continent and the defenceless situation of the extended frontiers opened a way for the incursions of their savage & barbarous Indian allies. The plan of the war was therefore changed. Despairing of the success of their united forces against our main army they divided them and sent a strong detachment to attack Georgia, the savages were again called to arms and stimulated to lay waste the frontiers & with horrid cruelty to massacre women & children. Animated and inflamed with more than hostile rage the enemy now seemed bent upon destruction more than conquest. And therefore while the Indians joined by more savage Britons were spreading flames & desolation on the frontier, detachments were sent

from New York to burn the neighboring towns in Connecticut. By the spirited Conduct of the People and vigorous exertions of our Army these incursions were repelled and vengeance hurled on the heads of the Savages. The detachment sent to the southward succeeded so far as to gain possession of Savannah, but proceeding on to make an impression on South Carolina and to attempt Charlestown, they were repelled and the arrival of a French fleet on the Coast drew them back to Savannah. An attempt was made to dislodge them from thence which failed. This gleam of success revived the hopes of Clinton, and therefore as soon as our army went into winter quarters, he embarked with a part of his army and proceeded to the southward to prosecute the war in that quarter. My former letters have already informed you of the issue of that business.

From Robert R. Livingston.

Philadelphia, 9th May, 1782.

Dear Sir,

You who know the respect I have for Congress will easily conceive the reluctance I feel in persisting to decline the direction of their Entertainment while it stands upon its present footing—were it duly annexed to my office I should think myself obliged to perform it—did the United States in Congress chuse to appoint me their Master of Ceremonies upon any occasion in which they appeared as a sovereign, I should think they added greatly to the honor they have already conferred upon me. But, Sir, I feel that there is a respect which every man owes to himself if he has been dignified by honourable Employment—or if in office, to that office and the Sovereign that appointed him which forbids him to take a new Charge derogatory to the former.

Congress call upon me to direct an entertainment at which I am not even a guest—to which none of the Principals in the great departments or the most respectable executive officers are to be invited. From which the President & Council of this State, the field officers in town tho' on duty, a number of genteel strangers (not being Foreigners) some of whom were ten days ago members of Congress are excluded and the general officers implicatively since they never visit without their aid de camps—it is true the odium I should incur by my agentry on this occasion would be removed if I could plead the order of Congress, but I should find it difficult to make the world believe that an officer whose past and present Employment give him some title to respect could be ordered to direct an Entertainment without some little attention having been paid to his recommendation—and were this to gain credit, I should want a sufficient apology for having taken upon myself a duty which placed me on a footing with the Presidents stewar. Delicacy and respect for Congress kept me from assigning these reasons to them—if they must be brought before them, I wish you to do it in such a way as to satisfy my veneration for their orders, and the pain I feel in being placed in such a situation as not to be capable of executing their commands on this occasion without degrading an office which their Honor and Interest requires to be supported with some degree of dignity, particularly in the Eyes of foreigners. Should Congress find it proper to alter their Resolution, which however I am far from taking the Liberty to suggest, I should think myself honored by carrying their commands into execution.

I am, Dear Sir, with great Esteem, your most obed. hum. Servant,

Robt R. Livingston.

DEBATES

IN THE

CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATION,

FROM

July 22d to September 20th, 1782.

1782. *Monday*, July 22.

The reports of the Com^e^ on a report of the Superintend^t^ of Finances relative to his stopping the Drawing of bills for interest which was an order of the day taken up and debated for some time and postponed.

The report of the Com^e^ on the hospital debated and recommitted.

Tuesday, July 23^rd^.

The ordinance for regulating the Post office under debate on the second reading, a great part recommitted.

Wednesday, July 24.

M^r^ Lee made the following motion.

"That the Commissions of the 15 of June, 1781, "appointing ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate a "treaty of peace with Great Britain, together with the "instructions given to the said Commissioners be re-"considered."

Mr Bland informed the house that he had always been against the instructions so far as they obliged the ministers ultimately to govern themselves by the advice of France, and therefore he seconded the motion for reconsideration. An objection was made to his seconding the reconsideration as he had acknowledged he had voted agst the instructions. The objection was deemed valid, whereupon after sometime

Mr Jackson gave it his second.

The motion being thus introduced was read and a debate thereon ensued.

Mr Lowell said he would have seconded the motion, but that he intended to have brought on the Consideration of the subject in another way, that he thought the instructions were not valid as they had not at the time of passing had the vote of nine states which by the Confederation were necessary to give them validity. This occasioned a call for the minutes of the proceedings which were read.

Mr Bland supported the propriety of a reconsideration.

Mr Madison objected to it. He took notice that the motion before the house went much farther than the reasoning in support of a reconsideration. That the reasoning was confined entirely to the impropriety, inexpediency and dangerous consequences of one single clause in the instructions; that the motion was pointed against the ministers as well as against the instructions; that nothing was said to show that the appointment was improper and that therefore he could not agree to the motion. But waiving this he should object to the motion if confined to the instructions; as to the objection started on account of an amendment to the original instructions which was carried by seven states, he apprehended the articles of confederation did not require the vote of nine states for the purpose of making peace; but even admitting it did and that there was an error or defect in the instructions by reason of the amendment, admitted by seven votes

on the 11th June 1781, yet the passing them afterwards on the 15 of the same month which appears to have been done without dissent, and the confirmation of them by the act of the 31st of May last removed every defect or error which the admission of the amendment might have occasioned. That before gentlemen condemned the instructions they ought to consider the times & circumstances in which they were passed. Here he went into a detail of the critical situation of affairs in America in June 1781, the interposition of mediating powers, the rejection of the motion for joining other persons in the Commission with J. Adams, the unfortunate difference between him & the Cot de Vergennes & the information given that the court of F. had not a full confidence in Mr Adams prudence & management. Upon the whole he did not think it prudent or proper to reconsider the instructions; that they could not be productive of any ill consequences and that the reconsidering and altering them might interrupt the harmony which at present subsists between the U. S. & F., might abate the zeal she has hitherto shown in our favour & that our affairs were not at present in such a situation as to warrant so hazardous a step.

Sundry other members opposed the reconsideration & at last an adjournment was called for which was agreed to.

Thursday, July 25.

Mr Lee informed the house that he had looked into a report from the superintendant of finances of the 24 of May, by which it appears that large sums of money are reserved in France for certain purposes; that in his opinion some of these purposes did not require so large a sum as was reserved for them, and that others were not proper; that the situation of our treasury required an examination into this matter and therefore he moved "That the report of the superin-

tendant of finances of the 24 of May last stating the application of the monies of the United States in France be referred to a Com^e^ to be examined & reported on." This motion was agreed to and M^r^ LEE, M^r^ IZARD and M^r^ WHARTON were elected. It may not be improper to observe that the superintendant in his report of the 24 of May enclosed, 1. A copy of a letter from the Count De Vergennes to Doct Franklin dated 6. Feb^y^ 1782, with an acc^t^ of the money lent & obtained for the United States in 1781 and the balance remaining unexpended 2. A copy of a letter of 4^th^ March from Doct Franklin informing the superintendant that the court of France had agreed to furnish the United States with the sum of six millions of livres in the year 1782 in four quarterly payments, & 3. An account from the superintendant of the purposes to which the balance of former loans and the six millions granted & to be paid this year are to be applied "*from which,*" says he, "*Congress will perceive that every loan we can command during the year* 1782 *is anticipated.*" Hence it appeared evident that no more bills could be drawn as heretofore for the payment of the interest of monies borrowed before the 1 March 1778, and that for the support of the war during the present year Congress must rely on the exertions of the states. The states had not yet all complied with the requisition of Feb^ry^ 1781 for granting an impost of five per cent on imports and prizes which was to be appropriated to the payment of interest and discharging the debt contracted during the war. The quotas of 8 millions of Dollars required for the present year were like to come in very slow. The first quarter day had passed without any money being paid. The treasury was exhausted, large anticipations had been made. And the superintendant had informed Congress that he could not with safety proceed farther and that some of the great war departments were at a stand for want of money. Letters and representations to the states

had not had the desired effect. To give a full display of the situation of affairs in writing would be dangerous as it would expose it to the knowledge of the enemy. Congress therefore on the 27th May thought it proper to send two of their members to the states eastward and two to the southward to give them a confidential and full view of affairs and to stimulate them to a speedy compliance with the requisitions of Congress, particularly those relative to the impost and the quotas for 1782 some time after, viz June 1 a Comtt consisting of Mr Osgood, Mr Izard & Mr Witherspoon reported a resolution for putting a stop to the drawing of any more bills. This was referred to the superintendant who reported a resolution to the same effect. And this together with the former report was referred to Mr Rutledge, Mr Lee, and Mr Clark, and their report concurred with the former that a stop should be put to the drawing of any more bills for the payment of interest. The subject was taken up and debated in Congress. The holders of Certificates who had heretofore been paid their interest in bills of exchange now took the alarm and remonstrated against this step. On the 12 July while this matter was under deliberation Mr Lee presented a memorial to Congress stating that on the settlement of his accounts in August 1781, as there was then no money in the treasury he had taken a Certificate for the balance payable with interest at a future day, and that as all the other ministers whose accounts were settled had been paid in bills of exchange praying that he might be put upon the same footing with them and the Certificate given him taken up and cancelled. This was referred to Mr Witherspoon, Mr Lowell and Mr Middleton, and notwithstanding the information given by the Superintendant that there were no funds on which bills could be drawn, notwithstanding a report of a Come in consequence of that information was then before Congress and under deliberation for putting a stop to the drawing any more bills, & not-

withstanding the clamours of the holders of certificates which would naturally be increased when they found their interest stopped under pretence that Congress had no funds in Europe on which they could draw bills and at the same time drawing in favour of one of their members for a sum equal to one fortieth part of their whole interest, notwithstanding all this the Com^e^ on the 19 July reported "that the superintendant should be directed to draw a bill on Doct. Franklin in favour of M^r^ A. Lee for the sum of £2238.17.9 sterling with interest from the 6 of August last, and that the Certificate given him for that sum being the balance of his acc^t^ as settled by the board of treasury should be cancelled." The report was objectionable on another account. A special resolution had been passed 29 May 1781 for facilitating the settlement of M^r^ Lee's acc^t^; no other voucher than his word of honor was required for his expences ordinary or extraordinary amounting to 155,191 livres 18 sous & 14 den^r^ [a], he had without any authority expended for the State of Virginia a part of the monies he received for the public use to the amount of sixty six thousand eight hundred and fifty three livres, whereby he fell in debt to the Public; and it was only by allowing him to charge that sum on the promise of Virginia to account for it with the United States, that he became a public creditor; and by accepting a Certificate for the balance payable at a future day with interest he had put himself on a footing with other public creditors and therefore had no right to any peculiar favour or indulgence.

M^r^ LOWELL, one of the Com^tt^, informed the house that he had objected to the report on account of the

[a] The board of treasury was ordered in adjusting M^r^ Lee acc^t^ to compute from 15 Dec 1776 to 25 March 1780, which is 3 y^rs^ 3 ^mo^ & 10 days including three months and after he was out of services, during that time he charged and was allowed for expences ordinary and extraordinary the sum of 155,197.18 Livres 4 Den^r^ which is at the rate of 47382 livres or 9476⅔ dollars per annum & besides this a salary of 500 pound's sterling a year.

want of funds in Europe but was over ruled by the other members. The report of the Superintendant of the 4 of May was called for and read and after debate the report of the Commᵗᵗ was referred to the Superintendant of finance to take order.

By this step Congress avoided the apparent inconsistency of conduct & partiality in favour of their own members and left it to the superintendᵗ to falsify his own report & incur the odium of the public creditors by drawing in favour of Mʳ Lee, or the resentment of Mʳ Lee by a refusal.

1782, July 29.

The order of the day being called for to fix the salary of the Comᵗᵗ to be appointed, pursuant to a resolution of the 28 May last, to liquidate and finally settle the accounts of all the servants of the United States who have been entrusted with the expenditure of public money in Europe, a motion was made by Mʳ Telfair for 4000 dollars per annum.

Mʳ Smith objected to the fixing any salary, that it was not a standing office, that when the service was performed a *quantum meruit* should be allowed, that it would make a material difference whether a person was sent from hence or one residing in Europe was appointed. Some objections was made by several members against settling the accounts in Europe whereupon a motion was made by Mʳ Montgomery seconded by Mʳ Lee to reconsider the resolution of 28 May. Question taken, passed in the affirmative.

Mʳ Ramsay moved to augment the number and instead of one to appoint 3 Comʳˢ. Mʳ Bland was against the appointment altogether, thought the accᵗ should be sent over and settled by the proper officers in the treasury, spoke of improper contracts being made & old arms sent over.

Mʳ Dyer was of the same opinion.

Mʳ Madison was for sending a person or persons

to liquidate but not with power finally to settle the acc^{t}.

M^{r} Scott was of the same opinion—expatiated on the advantages of sending a person to examine vouchers on the spot, collect facts & evidences & give information; that instructions might be given in the way of a commission from chancery by which little would be left to discretion.

M^{r} Bland spoke again; concurred in sentiments with M^{r} Scott and moved to commit the resolution.

M^{r} Witherspoon spoke to the same effect and seconded the motion for committing.

M^{r} Telfair made a rambling speech.

M^{r} Lee spoke much of the necessity of investigating thoroughly the acc^{ts} of merchants and people employed in France, mentioned the accounts offered to the Com^{n} in France by M. Monthieu, an acc^{t} in one line of so many suits of Cloaths, or so many shoes, blankets &c., but no invoices. And the most they could get from him was so many bales, casks &c but no acc^{t} of the contents of each, that it was necessary to examine persons at the ports of delivery relative to the quantity rec^{d}.

The Resolution was com^{d} to M^{r} Scott to report the powers with which the Com^{tt} should be invested, a draught of instructions to be given & to confer with the Superintend^{t} of finance on the subject.

1782, July 30.

A letter from the Secretary of War was read, enclosing a list of promotions and appointments in the Connecticut line made by the Council of Safety of that State.

M^{r} Cornell observed that the promotions were made not only on account of death, desertion, and resignation, but also on account of officers retiring. That he understood it was become a custom among the officers of that line, when tired of the service, to with-

draw from the army with the consent of their superior officers, and under the title of *retiring* officers to claim half pay for life & that thereupon others were promoted in their stead. That if this practice was allowed & the claim admitted, he saw nothing to prevent the State from putting every man in it on the half pay establishment & therefore objected to the granting Commissions.

Mr Dyer seemed to admit the custom, and justified it by observing that the same was practised in other States; other States did it in a hidden way, "this return is honest, fair, plain, no disguise;" several spoke on the occasion and reprobated the practice.

A motion was made to commit.

Mr. B. Huntington observed that some of the promotions and appointments were made on right principles, though others were on wrong, he therefore was for commitment, which was agreed to.

The Secretary of War having some days ago reported on a memorial of Webster and Judd, in behalf of the deranged officers of Connecticut line, stating that the half pay to which they were entitled by the acts of Congress of the 3 and 21 Oct. 1780, was not paid, and praying Congress "that such effectual and seasonable provision may be made as will comport with the aforesaid resolutions, relieve the distressed & answer the just expectation of the said officers," and the report having been referred to Mr Cornell, Mr Montgomery, and Mr McKean, the Comtt reported the Congress should resolve *That it was inexpedient to comply with the request of the memorialists.* This was objected to, as improper. That it was not doing justice to Congress, nor would it satisfy the memorialists to ground the denial upon inexpediency. That it was out of the power of Congress to comply with the request, as the States had not furnished the necessary supplies of money; and therefore

Mr Duane moved to insert *impracticable* in lieu of *inexpedient.*

Mr Cornell and Mr Montgomery of the Comtt present, informed the house that the memorialists were sensible of the deranged state of the public finances and the inability of Congress to pay at present, and therefore only requested to have their accounts settled and Certificates given for the sums due, payable, with interest, at a future day; that the report was calculated to meet this request, which the Comtt thought it to be inexpedient to comply with till funds were granted for the purpose, this explanation not satisfying the house and the question for Mr Duane's amendment being lost, the report was postponed, and a motion was made by Mr Bland, seconded by Mr Lee, "That the memorialists be informed it is not now in the power of Congress to make a general arrangement for liquidating and pay the half pay due to the reduced officers, and that it would be inexpedient to make a partial arrangement for that purpose."

This brought on a new debate, in the course of which Mr Clark expressed a doubt whether the States or Congress were bound by the Resolution granting half pay to the officers, as it had passed by the votes of only eight States, for though it passed before the articles of Confederation was finally ratified by all the States, yet being for the appropriation of money, and that to be made at a future day, and the votes of nine States being now necessary for that purpose, he doubted whether Congress or the States would agree to it, and therefore was against any new promises tending to confirm the former act; Mr Dyer & Mr Cornell were also against confirming the former acts by new engagements & mentioned that the Eastern States were opposed to the measure, and would not make grants to enable Congress to comply with the resolution.

Mr Dyer said that the State of Connecticut would agree to make some compensation to officers for past services and sufferings, nor would it object to the paying officers who retired under the act of 3 & 21 Oct., 1780, a sum equal to their half pay during the war,

but the State expected that all these pensions should cease as soon as the war was at at end.

Mr Madison combated the objection of Mr Clark; the doctrine it intended to establish was dangerous and if admitted would sap the foundation of a credit, and might be attended with the most ruinous consequences; that the States were as much bound by acts of Congress, which passed by a majority of votes, before the ratification of the Confederation as they would be now by the number of votes required by the Confederation: that on this rested the treaties and alliances already made and the instructions given to our ministers abroad to enter into other treaties and alliances; on this rested the money borrowed and the debts contracted, at home and abroad, for the payment of which the public faith was solemnly plighted & for which the States must provide funds, that the fixing of the pay of the army rests solely with Congress & that the States are bound to provide for what is stipulated and granted to the officers and men, whether to be paid then, at certain periods & in certain sums during service only, or while in service and for years or lives after the termination of the war; Mr Duane supported the argument of Mr Madison. Mr Root was for postponing the farther consideration of the subject, Mr Cornell was of the same opinion & thought the officers who were at home had the less reason to complain, as those in the field were not paid. Several other members spoke, at last an adjournment was called for & the house broke up without coming to a decision.

1782, July 31.

A motion was made by Mr Root, seconded by Mr Condict,

Whereas, Congress, by their resolution of 21 Oct. 1780, did in consideration of the merit and sufferings of the officers of the army grant to those who should continue in service to the end of the war or be deranged,

in pursuance of the acts of 3 & 21 Oct., 1780, half pay for life;

And Whereas, Application is made by some of those officers for an adjustment of their half pay and Congress having no funds provided for discharging the same, resolved, that it be recommended to the several states to carry into effect the resolution of Congress of 21 Oct. 1780, granting half pay for life in regard to the officers in the lines of their respective states, and every state which shall settle with the officers belonging to their respective lines in regard to their half pay aforesaid and cause the United States to be exonerated therefrom shall be discharged from contributing any thing towards the half pay of officers in the line of any other state.

Mr Dyer opened the debate by observing that the resolution to grant half pay for life to the officers had occasioned more uneasiness in some of the States than any measure ever adopted by Congress. Some of the States it is true were for the measure. Pennsylvania had a similar provision for their officers before Congress passed the resolution. The States who were against granting half pay for life were not against making some compensation. The resolution proposed would satisfy the officers & the State & therefore he hoped it would be agreed to.

Mr Bland moved to amend the Resolution by striking out "shall be discharged," &c., to the end, in lieu thereof inserting "shall be credited in their annual quota to the amount of the half pay of the officers settled with." Mr Clymer seconds the amendment.

Mr Dyer against the amendment. It would not satisfy the States which objected to the half pay. They wanted to be discharged. They would settle with their own officers & satisfy them and then wanted to have done with it.

Mr Cornell was against both the motion and amendment; spoke against both.

Mr Witherspoon desires to know the difference

between the original motion and the amendment, thinks the argument should be confined to shew that the motion is better without the amendment, or that the amendm[t] excels the motion as it stood.

M[r] BLAND explains that he meant by the amendment that the States should be jointly bound to the officers; but he had no objection that every State which settled with its officers should have credit for the amount of their half pay.

M[r] MADISON. All charges of war are by the Confederation to be paid out of one treasury. The motion violates this article of the Confederation; the amdm[t] is more conformable to it; but still does not meet his approbation.

M[r] CLARK is against the amendment & in favour of the motion, supports the opinion he advanced yesterday that the States are not bound, distinguishes between Congress and the States, thinks Congress are bound to do every thing they can to carry their resolution into effect. The recommendation contained in the motion is all they can do. Is not against doing justice to the officers & if the resolution passes has no doubt but the States will do them justice.

M[r] TELFAIR. Some of the States are not in a situation to do anything and their officers will be unprovided for; for "*his part* he will be against the whole."

M[r] WITHERSPOON is against the amendment, it does not make the proposition better, will not give greater security to the officers & will not satisfy the States which are averse to half pay for life. If the original motion operates to the disadvantage of any States it will be those who are in favour of it. But he reserves himself to speak to the motion when the question is taken on the amend[t].

M[r] MONTGOMERY objects to the motion but if he thought it would pass he would be for the amend[t]. The motion with or without the amend[t] would not satisfy the officers. It had been hinted by the Com[tt] to the Memorialists yesterday and they objected to it

with great warmth, said they were officers of the U. S. and not of any particular State, that they looked to Congress for their half pay and would think themselves deceived if referred to States which were opposed to it. That there were many officers of independent and separate corps which did not belong to the line of any State, who would not be provided for.

Mr Root. The original motion was confined to the line of the States, it left the general officers & those of independent & separate corps to be paid by congress and the States which settled with their own lines would be obliged to contribute their proportion to that expense, but he objected to the amendment because they would leave the matter as it now stood and expose them to provide for the lines of other States, which was what they wished to be discharged from. That they would satisfy the officers of their own line by making them a compensation at once. That the genius of their people would not brook the paying of annual pensions, that they could not bear to see men strutting about their streets in the port of masters who had a right to demand of the people a part of their annual labour & toil to support them in idleness. That they chose rather to pay their officers at once after the war and then see them descend into the class of citizens. He had seen one of the Memorialists this morning; he will be satisfied.

Mr Bland supports his amendment, it is the only way to do equal justice to the officers and the States. Thinks it not worth while to answer the *sophistical* arguments against the power of Congress to make the grant and bind the States.

Mr. Ramsay. Against the whole measure, the States to the southward, particularly South Carolina and Georgia, from the circumstances of the war had more than their proportion of officers when the reform of the army took place in 1780, that it would be unjust that those States which had suffered the most by the war should be subjected to the payment of more than their

proportion when it was over. That the war was for the common defence and the expenses should be borne by all according to their several abilities.

The question on the amendment was called for and the yeas and nays required by Mr Clark—This brought up—

Mr Duane. This is a subject of too much importance to be decided in this hasty way, it requires deliberation. He is not prepared to give a vote. He wants time to deliberate and weigh the consequences. Will it satisfy the officers to deprive them of the guaranty of the U. S. & transfer them to individual States. Will the individual States be willing to undertake this. He does not know. Will any member undertake for them; they ought to be consulted. The war is not over. It may yet make a great change in the circumstances of particular States. Would it be just that officers who may have bled and suffered most should from the inability of their State occasioned by the calamity of war be in a worse situation than others with regard to their half pay. These are matters that require deliberation. He is not prepared to give an opinion.

Mr Clark maintains his opinion against the power of Congress, thinks that from the time articles of Confederation passed the rules by them established bound Congress though they were not binding upon the States until finally ratified. He has no objection against allowing time for deliberation.

Mr Montgomery & Mr Smith move to postpone the farther consideration of the subject; Mr Root attempts to alarm the fears of Congress by pointing out the dangers of postponing. Postponing the subject will be interpreted into a refusal; the army in the field are watching the conduct of Congress & will form a judgment by what is done for retiring officers, of what will be done for them when their arms are out of their hands. If they see justice done to those who have retired they confide in the promises & faith of

Congress. But if they find them neglected or trifled with they will either quit the service immediately, or refuse to lay down their arms when the war is over until they have some better security. He thinks the measure was wrong at first. It was no part of the original contract with the officers. It was an extraordinary and gratuitous emolument. But being promised they consider it as their right and that no time should be lost in giving them confident assurances that they will not be deprived of it.

Mr Duane laments that the measures of Congress however just and necessary at the time are unreservedly blamed by members who were not present when they were adopted or who do not recollect the circumstances which compelled the adopting them; is confident if any of those who now so freely condemn the resolution for granting half pay had been present at the time they would have given their assent. He could appeal to one as well satisfied and from his situation better able to judge than any other in the United States, he meant the Com. in chief, that without it the army could not have been kept together. He thought the measure right then, he thinks so still. It is a reward of military merit adopted by the wisest & finest nations of Europe. He is for complying with the promise made. But is not for giving a hasty opinion on the subject now before the house.

Mr Lowell moved to add to the motion for postponing "till the first Wednesday in January next."

Mr Dyer against postponing for so long a time.

Mr Cornell not to be alarmed with the apprehensions of the Army disbanding or refusing to lay down their arms when the war is over. He is acquainted with the officers; he never heard such intemperate language from any of them. They are men of judgment & consideration & citizens of the U. S. They have an interest in the prosperity of their Country. They are sensible of the embarrassed state of our finances and will not abandon their duty because every

thing cannot be done for them at present that ought to be done. They will wait with patience till our affairs are in a better situation. He is for postponing till the time mentioned.

Question put and carried in the affirmative. A Report was then made by a grand Com^tt^ consisting of a member from each State who were appointed to consider & report the most effectual means of securing public credit, "that it was their opinion Congress should come to a decision on the cessions made by Connecticut, New York & Virginia," and a motion was made to assign a day for taking up *the report.*

Some of the members spoke against it, apprehending that the motion referred to the report of a Com^tt^ on the cessions.

M^r^ CLARK thought it involved questions which could not be decided till the war was over. He wanted to know where the land lay which was ceded; what right the states which had made the cession had to the land they ceded. That the boundaries of the several states should first be settled. He was against taking it in consideration now.

M^r^ LOWELL wanted to know what right New York had to the lands she had ceded; that if any state had a right it must be Massachusetts, Connecticut & Virginia.

M^r^ DUANE had no objection to go into an examination of the right of New York. He was prepared to enter on the subject & was furnished by his state with documents which he had laid before the grand Com^tt^ and which would prove to the satisfaction of every impartial person the incontestable right of New York to the lands ceded.

M^r^ DYER. Other states have not come so well prepared, it would therefore be improper and injurious to those states who claim the land ceded by New York to go into that matter now. The motion being explained and confined to the report from the grand Com^tt^.

M^r^ JACKSON, objects to the consideration of it as a

means to establish public credit. A good deal of conversation passed on the subject, at last the question was put and the yeas and nays being required by Mr Witherspoon it was lost, only six states being in the affirmative.

August 1.

A plan for regulating the departments of the Adjutant General was taken into consideration & passed; the principal debate respecting it was on a paragraph for allowing the Adjutant General to draw four soldiers from the line as servants to wait on him. It was objected to by Mr Montgomery, Mr Scott, Mr Witherspoon and Mr Lee. Mr Cornell, Mr Bland & Mr Duane supported it. At length by a compromise the paragraph was struck out & the number of servants to be taken from the line by the Adj. Genl was left to be settled by a general regulation which should include the officers of the Army.

A motion was then made by Mr Lowell that Mr John Temple might be furnished with a copy of Mr Adams's Letter of 16th August 1781 respecting him, the letter being produced and read.

Mr Duane objected to the motion as improper. The letter was written to Congress by one of their ministers who declares he wrote it without the knowledge of Mr T——; it would tend to destroy confidential communications from ministers if copies of their letters were made public. He had no objection against sending a copy to the Executive of Massachusetts who had ordered an enquiry into the conduct of Mr T——.

Mr Lowell thought Mr T—— had a right to a copy.

Mr Lee was of the same opinion. He blamed the conduct and resolution of Congress, said they had insinuated suspicions and drawn conclusions which that letter did not warrant, and therefore he ought to have it for his justification. He was personally acquainted with Mr Temple & knew him to be a warm friend to

America & had suffered much for his attachment to it.

Mr Madison denied that Congress had drawn any conclusions from that letter prejudicial to the character of Mr Temple. The jealousies and suspicions respecting him were grounded on his conduct which was notorious to an American. His coming from England in 1778 by the way of New York at the same time the Commissioners were sent. The person accompanying him, Doct Berkenhout, a known agent and emissary of the British ministry. His return to England without permission or notice given of his intention. The rumours and publications respecting his intercourse with the British ministry. His coming again to America at a very critical time. These were the circumstances on which the suspicions were grounded. And as it was understood that he sheltered himself under the cover of being the bearer of public dispatches from Mr Adams & appealed to a letter written in his favour by Mr Adams, Congress related only simple facts; namely that the subject of the letters with which he was entrusted & those which Mr Adams sent at the same time by another conveyance evinced that he had not the full confidence of the minister & that Mr Adams Letter did not account for his past conduct and explain his future views. He appealed to the records of Congress and to the letter just read whether these were not facts truly stated. Mr T's conduct was at least mysterious. Congress acted properly. He was against granting him a copy of the letter, but had no objection to sending it to the Executive of Massachusetts.

An adjournment was called for and no question taken.

August 2.

A Letter from Mr Jay was read containing an account of his negotiations with the Spanish ministry from Oct. 3 1781 to April 28 1782, the date of the

letter; the delay, chicane & slight he met with and particularly his embarrassments on account of the bills drawn on him and the necessity he was at last under of protesting some of the bills for want of money. As soon as the letter was read—

Mr Rutledge moved that a Comtt be appointed to revise the instructions given to Mr Jay and report what alterations & additions if any should be made.

This was seconded from every quarter of the house & a Comtt of five were chosen.

Mr Lowell then moved that the Letter of Mr Jay of the 28th April and the instructions given to the ministers for negotiating a peace should be referred to the same Committee.

Mr Madison called for a division. He approved the committing the letter but objected against the other part of the motion. It was a delicate subject and ought to be handled with caution & circumspection. The introducing it at this time would give ground to suspect that there was something in the letter which gave rise to it. That the Letter contained new proof of the friendship of France. That if at the moment we were about to revise and alter the instructions respecting Spain a step was taken which might shew our want of confidence in France and give offence to that Court it might endanger our affairs.

Mr Lee had no objection against dividing the question but could not be easy nor think himself justified to his constituents until he brought forward the subject contained in the other part He did not approve the present mode of bringing it on, it was too indirect. He had made a motion which was before the house on which he was determined to call the yeas & nays. He then inveighed against the instructions of the 15 June, 1781, as derogatory to the honor, dignity and independence of the United States, contrary to the treaties made with France & which must expose us to the contempt of our allies and all the nations of Europe.

Mr Lowell thought this the most delicate way of introducing the subject & which he hoped would have met the sentiments of every member as well those who were in favour of as those who were against the instructions. That the subject must be debated, that the motion for referring them to a Committee with other matters did not involve the approbation or disapprobation of them by Congress & could give no offence. The Comtt might think it proper to adhere to them & make no report or if they judged it proper to make any alteration they would have time to deliberate on the mode and manner.

Several other members spoke. On a division the question for committing the letter passed in the affirmative & the other part of the motion was put off by an adjournment.

Monday, August 5th.

The superintendant of finances sent in a long letter which was read, stating the necessity and advantage of borrowing money towards the current expences of the war; the impossibility of doing this or establishing public credit without solid funds for the payment of the interest of the money already borrowed as well as of what may be wanted in future, pointing out three funds in addition to the 5 per cent on imports & prizes, 1 a tax of a dollar per 100 acres on all land; 2 a poll tax of a dollar per head on all males, paupers & soldiers excepted, above & under ; 3 an excise on spirituous liquors, which with the impost duty he estimates may amount to 2 millions of Dollars. He then obviates the objection that may be raised against granting these funds, warns Congress against placing any immediate dependence on back lands, & concludes with an estimate of the debt already contracted & an earnest exhortation to come to some speedy decision.

Another letter from the superintendant was read

enclosing estimates of the supplies wanted for the year 1783, amounting to eleven millions of Dollars, viz—

For the War Department.....	8,106,648.10
For the Marine Department.....	2,500,000.00
Civil List.....	181,214.38
Contingencies.....	212,137.42
	11,000,000.00

Out of these estimates by proper arrangements which he hopes will take place he apprehends there may be a saving to the amount of two millions: and therefore he proposes only to call for 9 millions, and if the funds pointed out in the foregoing Letter be granted or others equally productive he proposes that of this 9 millions four should be borrowed and five raised by taxes within the year. He states the necessity of attending to the navy & presses an early decision on these matters.

These two letters with the papers enclosed were referred to a grand Com[tt] appointed on the 22 July. Some private business was then dispatched after which

M[r] BLAND moved—"That the instructions given on the 15 June 1781 to the Com[tt] for negotiating a treaty of peace be reconsidered & committed. This was seconded by M[r] JACKSON, but as the day was too far spent it was agreed that the discussion of the subject should be deferred till next day & an adjournment was called for and agreed to.

August 6.

The delegates for Pennsylvania yesterday informed Congress that the commander of the French fleet, which was now off the Capes of Delaware, had sent up a message that if the ships in the harbor were ready to put to sea he would afford them a convoy from the Coast; that the merchants & the State

desirous of improving this opportunity were willing to make an attempt on Bermuda if the French admiral could send with them some frigates, and therefore they moved that a Com^tt^ might be appointed to confer with the minister of France on the subject. This was refused but it was intimated to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs that he should confer with the minister & report. In consequence of this the Secretary for Foreign Affairs this morning reported "that he had conferred with the minister of France on the expediency & practicability of making an attempt on the island of Bermuda—that he had related to him what he had learned with respect to the present strength of the island & the security the possession of it would give to our commerce and that of France, & desired to know whether the Marquis De Vaudreuil had any orders that would prevent his undertaking this expedition or any object with which it would interfere.

That the minister replied that the operations of the fleet or the propriety of detaching any part of it must in some measure depend on the motions of the enemy —that he did not know that the marquis had any orders that would interfere with the plan mentioned— that he knew he had several objects advantageous to the United States, the execution of which he would concert with General Washington. The minister wished that this plan might be concerted with him, that if it should appear more advantageous than others which the Marquis had in contemplation he might take measures to carry it into effect. He observed farther that as this conquest would be on account of the U. S. it would be necessary to furnish it with an American garrison.

That he (the Sec^ry^ for Foreign Affairs) desired to know whether troops might not be spared from those on board the fleet to perform this service for the U. S. in case they should find it inconvenient to send a part of their own army.

That the minister replied that the whole land force in the fleet was too inconsiderable to admit of a reduction, that they were designated to act as marines & for the security of the fleet in case they took a post to refital, that he concluded with wishing that the desire of Congress on this subject should be referred to the general, who upon conferring with the Marquis de Vaudreuil would be best able to judge of the expediency.

This report being read, Mr Bland moved that the conference with the minister of France reported by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs be referred to the Commander in chief to take order if he thinks the measure alluded to expedient & not interfering with other operations of greater importance that have been concerted or may be effected.

This brought on a debate.

Mr Lee was against referring it in the first instance to the Genrl; it was one of those cases mentioned in the treaty which required a previous Convention to settle the compensation. If it was undertaken without such a convention the French might conquer it for themselves or demand such a compensation that could not be granted. That the General could not settle the compensation, because it must be in money and the General had no right to appropriate money.

Mr Duane was against referring the report to the General because it would hold up the object in too strong a point of view. When the matter was first introduced it was only mentioned as an object that might be adopted in case the fleet was going off the coast, either on their return to Europe or the West Indies. In this light he would have no objection against referring it to the General. That if the fleets staid any time on the coast there were other objects of far greater importance, such as the attack of N. York. He was therefore for committing it that it might be represented in the light in which it was first introduced. Mr Jackson was of the same opinion, thought

there were several other objects which required greater attention mentioned—an attempt on Halifax or the reduction of Penobscot. He was for committing.

Mr Rutledge thought that the motion was well guarded. He had no objection against accompanying the reference with a letter to explain the views of Congress, but was against committing.

Mr Clark was against committing and against referring unless the words "to take order" were expunged and the words "to report" were inserted.

Several others spoke on the occasion. At length the question for commitment was put and passed in the negative.

On the question for referring it to the Comr in chief, the yeas & nays being required by Mr Clark—

New Hampshire,	Mr. Gilman,	No.	×
Massachusetts,	Mr. Osgood,	No.	No.
	Mr. Jackson,	No.	
Rhode Island,	Mr. Cornell,	No.	No.
	Mr. Howell,	No.	
Connecticut,	Mr. Root,	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington,	No.	
	Mr. Dyer,	No.	
New York,	Mr. Duane,	No.	Divided.
	Mr. Scott,	Ay.	
New Jersey,	Mr. Clark,	No.	No.
	Mr. Condict,	No.	
	Mr. Witherspoon,	No.	
Pennsylvania,	Mr. Montgomery,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Smith,	Ay.	
	Mr. Clymer,	Ay.	
	Mr. Wynkoop,	Ay.	

Delaware,	Mr. M^{c}Kean,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Wharton,	Ay.	
Maryland,	Mr. Hanson,	Ay.	×
Virginia,	Mr. Madison,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Bland,	Ay.	
	Mr. Lee,	No.	
N. Carolina,	Mr. Williamson,	No.	No.
	Mr. Blount,	No.	
S. Carolina,	Mr. Rutledge,	Ay.	Divided.
	Mr. Ramsay,	Ay.	
	Mr. Izard,	No.	
	Mr. Middleton,	No.	
Georgia,	Mr. Telfair,	No.	No.
	Mr. Jones,	No.	
	Mr. Few,	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

The Committee consisting of M^{r} RUTLEDGE, M^{r} DUANE, M^{r} MADISON, M^{r} OSGOOD & M^{r} MONTGOMERY appointed "to revise and consider the instructions from Congress to M^{r} Jay and to report if any and what alterations or additions should be made therein" reported the following resolution:

"That the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Spain be instructed in case any propositions be made to him by the said Court for a treaty with the U. S. to decline acceding to the same until he shall have transmitted them to Congress for their approbation; unless the treaty proposed be of such a tenor as to render his accession thereto necessary to the fulfilment of the stipulation on the part of the U. S. contained in the separate and secret article of their treaty with his most Christian majesty, in which case he is to

conclude such a treaty on the first requisition of his Catholic majesty.

"That Mr Jay be at liberty to leave Spain and go into any other part of Europe whenever the state of his health may require it."

This report being called for and read,

Mr Lee moved that the latter part of the first resolution, "unless the treaty &c." to the end, be struck out. He observed that Congress were not bound by that secret article, as Spain had refused or declined to accede. That she had no right to the indulgence mentioned.

Mr Montgomery called for the secret article, which was read, and in which a power is reserved to Spain of acceding to the treaties of commerce & alliance with France at any time she may think proper.

Mr Lee said any time meant a reasonable time, that reasonable time had been allowed & she has absolutely refused and therefore Congress is no longer bound.

Mr Jones seconded his motion.

Mr Montgomery was of a different opinion. The terms of the secret article were express that Spain should have liberty to accede when she thought proper. That she was to judge of the time & that the U. S. were bound to admit her accession.

Mr Izard called for a letter of Mr Jay wherein he mentioned that the Count de Florida Blanca declared that the court of Spain would not agree that the treaties between them & his M. Christian Majesty & the U. S. should be the foundation of a treaty between the U. S. & Spain.

This letter not being at hand,

Mr Duane arose and observed that we had nothing to do with Spain. The secret article was made with France. She on account of the strict connection between her and Spain stipulated and reserved this privilege to Spain. We have solemnly agreed to it and pledged our faith to France to receive her accession

& facilitate the means to it whenever she thinks it a proper time. Can any thing Spain has yet done justify our violating our faith to France? Because Spain has offended shall we break with France and so soon violate the first treaty made with us?

Mr Ramsay is against the amendment; had rather America should lose its existence than its faith & honor.

Mr Madison is also against the amendment; grants that there is some weight in the observation of his colleague with regard to the time of Spain's accession. That the design of France was to engage Spain to enter into the present war & guarantee the independence of the U. S. agst G. B. Should she decline acceding until the conclusion of the war she ought not to be entitled to the benefit of the alliance or the future guarantee of the U. S. for her American possessions. He was not for striking out the paragraph or for limiting the time without the consent and concurrence of France.

Mr Root spoke on the same side.

Mr Bland thinks a treaty with Spain of no advantage to the U. S. If she wants a treaty let her sue for it and let Congress judge of the terms.

Mr Lee. Gentlemen had mistaken his meaning. He did not mean to violate the engagements entered into by the secret article; no man could be more averse to such a measure than he. He only meant that we should not shew too great a desire to enter into an alliance with Spain, which would be the case if the paragraph stood. Spoke of the interested views of Spain.

Mr Witherspoon observed that some gentlemen had under rated the services of Spain. She had done much. She had entered into the war with the common enemy. We had derived as much advantage from her exertions as if she had agreed to the treaty of alliance, for in that case she would have had a right to prosecute the war in such way as she thought

proper & might have undertaken the siege of Gibralter &c and would have been justified in so doing. Besides this she had aided us with money, opened her ports and admitted us to trade to Havannah. He is for retaining the clause; it gives a dignity to the report and will place our conduct in the fairest point of view. We are not perfectly satisfied with the reception our minister has received; we will not teaze Spain with solicitation; but we will leave her to judge of the time & when she thinks it proper we will be ready to comply with our engagements.

Mr Rutledge. Concurs in sentiments with those who think we are bound by the secret article, and therefore will be against the present amendment but reserves the liberty of moving as he shall move to strike out the words "in which case" to the end, because it goes too far as he will show at a proper time.

Mr Clark, before he gives an opinion on the amendment wants to know the meaning of the report; apprehends it is only calculated to repeal the instruction given respecting the navigation of the Mississippi; if that is the design he is for speaking out plainly. However he will be against the present amendment.

Question put, shall the words stand, 10 states in the affirmative, Georgia against it.

Mr Rutledge then moved & was seconded by Mr McKean to strike out the words "in which case" &c. to the end. He observed by the secret article that a right was reserved to Spain not only to accede to the treaties of amity & commerce & of alliance at any time she thinks proper, but also to propose one analogous to them founded on the principles of equality, reciprocity and friendship, that in either case we were bound to admit her and in the latter had promised to endeavour in good faith an adjustment of the points in which the King of Spain may propose any alteration. That this latter case supposed and necessarily required deliberation & discussion and therefore that part of the instruc-

tions was improper. The words were accordingly struck out and the resolution with the amendment passed N. C. D.

Wednesday, August 7th.

Mr Rutledge moved for an addition to the instructions which passed yesterday which was agreed to and the instructions as amended and finally agreed to are as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the minister plenipotentiary at the Court of Spain be instructed to forbear making any overtures to that court or entering into any stipulations in consequence of overtures which he has made, and in case any propositions be made to him by the said Court for a treaty with the U. S. to decline acceding to the same until he shall have transmitted them to Congress for their approbation; unless the treaty proposed be of such a tenor as to render his accession thereto necessary to the fulfilment of the stipulation on the part of the U. S. contained in the separate and secret article of their treaty with his most Christian majesty.

"That Mr Jay be at liberty to leave Spain and to go into any other part of Europe when ever the state of his health may require it."

The Comtt for retrenching the expenditures of the United States in the several departments having reported a plan for arranging the army, in which it was proposed the troops of each state should be formed into complete battalions of not less than 500 rank & file by draughting the junior into the senior regiments, that no more officers be retained than what were necessary to command the regiments and that the supernumerary officers should retire on half pay until called into service or be employed in the staff department. When the paragraph respecting the retiring officers was under debate,

Mr Montgomery thought if the officers were liable to

be called into service they ought to be allowed their full pay, as they could not enter into business or make solid arrangements for their future support and subsistance.

Mr Clark thought that the burthen of the half pay should be thrown upon the states which were deficient in their number of men & prepared an amendment to that purpose. The amendment appearing in the light of a substitute was not admitted whereupon he moved and was seconded by Mr Root to strike out the whole paragraph.

Mr. Root was of opinion that according to the Articles of Confederation Congress ought to fix the number of troops necessary, assign to the States their respective quotas & call upon them to furnish those quotas, and that each State would be obliged to furnish its troops with the proper number of officers or would be answerable for the deficiency.

Mr. Dyer. Of all the evils attending this war that of the half pay was never foreseen or thought of by the States. Having spoken for some time against a half pay establishment, he then undertook to obviate Mr Montgomery's objections and to. shew that it was just and reasonable & what no officer could complain of to allow men whose services were not wanted to retire on half pay until called again into service; but when the war was over all half pay should cease. On the question the paragraph was confirmed by eight States and the arrangement was agreed to by the votes of nine States.

August 8th.

After the house had passed a vote for reinforcing the garrison at Fort Pitt with 300 militia from Pennsylvania & Virginia & decided on a report respecting two Canadians,

Mr. Lee arose and reminded the house that there was a business before them of the greatest impor-

tance; that the interest, the honor and the safety of these States were so much concerned that he could not be easy nor stand justified to himself or his constituents until he had done everything in his power to bring it to determination. He therefore moved

"That the instructions given on the 15 June 1781 to the ministers plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace be reconsidered." This was seconded by Mr Bland & some other members. But Mr Root rising and expressing a desire that the motion might be expressed in such terms as to avoid all debates concerning the effects of a reconsideration, he moved "That a Comtt be appointed to revise and consider the instructions given to our ministers for negotiating a peace with Great Britain, and report what alterations ought to be made therein."

Mr Lee said he wished only for a fair discussion of the subject and to avoid every difficulty and debate arising from forms and therefore withdrew his motion and seconded that of Mr Root.

Mr Rutledge is resolved to adhere strictly to the principles of the alliance with France, and to shew her all the respect and confidence which one nation would shew to another. He had full confidence in her magnanimity, but is doubtful whether Congress had power to surrender themselves into her hands. The case is delicate; he does not wish to give an opinion; he may upon mature deliberation. The Comtt think it proper not to alter the instruction. It deserves consideration. He is therefore for appointing a Committee; if upon the most mature deliberation the Comtt shall be of opinion that any alterations should be made they will report what they think proper; if they are of a contrary opinion they will say nothing about them. He found by looking over the journals that instructions had been given respecting a treaty of commerce and that afterwards these were withdrawn & repealed and nothing farther done on the subject. He thought the Comtt to be appointed should be instructed to take this matter

into consideration & report what was proper to be done.

Mr WILLIAMSON said he had listened with the greatest attention to the arguments offered He had examined the instructions given. He did not think them of so dangerous a nature as was represented. The independence of the States and the principles of the alliance and treaty of commerce were fully secured. These were made ultimate, and not to be given up on any account. The matters in which the ministers were ultimately to be governed by the opinion of France were only what respected disputed boundaries, the fisheries and other matters which might come into discussion at the treaty.

Mr RUTLEDGE. The boundaries were everything; what are the States? They must have boundaries. Is France to say what those boundaries shall be and must we submit?

Mr LEE differs in opinion with the gentleman from North Carolina. It is not sufficient that the independence of these States is secured. But he doubts whether even that is secured by the instructions. He is afraid of the accompaniment. That we shall be so circumscribed in our boundaries that our independence will be a nugatory independence. France in making a treaty will be governed by her own interest and from her long and close connection with Spain and prefer it to ours. Is it wise, is it proper to give a nation the absolute disposal of our affairs that is under the influence of two interests which she is bound to consult in preference to that of these States? This unlimited confidence will render us despicable in the eyes of France and make her less attentive to our rights. We have been informed by a minister of France that Spain has large claims on the lands beyond the mountains. Her conduct shews that she means to support her claim to that Country. She wishes to confine us to the lands lying below the heads of the waters falling into the Atlantic. We are told that she thinks she has

a right to possess herself of all to the westward. And shall we submit it to France, her old friend and ally, whether her claims shall be confirmed & we be excluded from the possession of that Country? Besides the power and instructions we have given will be dangerous to France and render her suspected by the other nations of Europe. Her language to the other powers of Europe has been that she entered into the war to support our independence; that we were left at liberty to grant the same indulgence and privileges to other nations that were granted to her. What will the other nations of Europe think when at the treaty of peace they find her entrusted with the whole, the absolute disposal of our affairs? Will they not become jealous? Will they not think she has deceived or means to deceive them? The instructions are also dangerous to the United States. It is essentially giving up the independence of these States and becoming dependents on the minister of France. For notwithstanding what is said in the former part of the instructions respecting independence & adherence to the principles of the treaties, as the clause comes afterwards by which our ministers are bound to govern themselves ultimately by the advice and opinion of France he is strong in the opinion and thinks he will be warranted by the rules of construction & the judgment of all men that this supersedes the former: and shall this be suffered to come in doubt? He is for binding the minister to pay the utmost respect and place the utmost confidence in France, to take no steps without consulting her. Thus everything will be done that can and ought to be done. Can any friend of France desire more? Can any gentleman in this house wish to continue to her a power that will be ruinous to our independence, dangerous to herself, expose us to the contempt and scorn of all the nations of Europe, and bring upon both her and us their jealousy & perhaps their resentment?

Mr Madison grants that the instructions given are a sacrifice of national dignity. But it was a sacri-

fice of dignity to policy. The situation of affairs and circumstances at the time rendered this sacrifice necessary. Nothing essential is given up, nor did it render our situation less precarious than it was before; nay he was persuaded that this mark of confidence gave an additional security to our interests as the Court of France must be sensible that the odium of unequal or hard conditions will now rest wholly on her. At least he was sure that the instructions given did not weaken that security. Our interests are as safe in her hands now as they were before or as if the ministers were left wholly to their discretion. Our ministers may still, notwithstanding the instructions given, state & assert our claims and contend with the utmost earnestness for our rights, and it is only in the last extremity when all their pleas, all their reasoning and all their most earnest endeavours prove ineffectual that they are ultimately to govern themselves by the advice. and opinion of the Court of France; and must not this have been the case if the instructions had never been given? France has voluntarily bound herself by the treaties she has entered into with us to secure and guarantee our independence & sovereignty absolute and unlimited as well in matters of government as commerce. What indication has she given of any alteration of sentiment or conduct towards us? It is her interest as well as policy to secure the affections of the people of these States and forever separate us from G. Britain. She can never think us formidable to her while we continue absolutely independent, nor will she ever object to our enlarging our boundaries or increasing our commerce & naval power unless we give her reason to suspect a want of confidence in her and a disposition to reunite ourselves with her ancient enemy. In that case interest and policy will both unite and induce her to keep us as weak as possible. Whether withdrawing our confidence at this critical moment will not give just grounds of suspicion and jealousy he leaves gentlemen to determine. There was a passage in M^{r} Jay's letter

lately read which made a strong impression on him; he did not know whether it made the same on others. He meant that passage which mentioned the fears and suspicions occasioned by the late change in the British administration, lest the men now in office who had always professed themselves friends to America and had in such severe terms condemned the war might influence the councils and conduct of the Americans. The withdrawing the instructions given on the 15th June, 1781, added to what has passed with regard to Spain, will increase that jealousy.

Let us consider how it will operate on Great Britain. Tired with the war and disappointed in all her attempts to separate us from France, there is reason to think there are serious thoughts of peace, but flushed with her late success and flattered with the hopes of rising dissentions & jealousies between us & the other belligerent, will she not be encouraged to prosecute the war with new vigour & try by redoubled efforts to reduce us to her power?

But it is said our dignity is stained, and that we must revoke the instructions in order to wipe off that stain and restore its lustre. But will this do? Will it repair our loss of dignity in the eyes of the nations of Europe to convince them we are a people unstable in our councils & measures, governed wholly by circumstances, *abject & profuse* of promises when in distress and difficulties, but who veer about on a change of circumstances & on whose promises and professions no reliance can be placed? In a word, continued he, I am persuaded that a change in the instructions will not add to our security. I am persuaded that it will give umbrage to our ally, and by a seeming act of ingratitude or of diffidence awaken her suspicions and jealousies, and abate her zeal in our favour. I am persuaded that the umbrage and jealousy which this measure will excite will be prejudicial to us and will give encouragement to our enemy to prosecute the war. I am persuaded it is now too late to alter, and

that withdrawing our confidence will not cure the wound given to our national dignity. For all these reasons I shall be against touching the instructions given. But if any member thinks that anything farther can be done to secure to the United States the several objects claimed by them, I shall have no objections to that, it being well understood that no encroachment is to be made on the instructions given, but they are to remain in their full force. I shall therefore move that the motion before the house be postponed, and if that is carried I shall then move—

That a Com^tt^ be appointed to take into consideration and report to Congress the most advisable means of securing to the United States the several objects claimed by them and not included in their ultimatum for peace of the 15^th^ day of June 1781.

I now move that the consideration of the motion before the house be postponed.

M^r^ WITHERSPOON seconded the motion. Said that if he had been ag^st^ the instructions at the time they passed, he would now from circumstances be against altering them. But he would remind gentlemen that the passing the instructions of the 15 June 1781, against which exceptions were now taken, was only the least of two evils which Congress were reduced to a choice of. A difference in sentiment had arisen between the Count de Vergennes & M^r^ Adams respecting the use the latter thought he ought to make of the discretionary powers with w^ch^ he was intrusted. This dispute was maintained by M^r^ Adams with a pertinacity that gave just offence more especially as it must be allowed & Congress were sensible he was wrong. Besides this M^r^ Adams entered into another dispute with Count de Vergennes on a subject which had no immediate connection with his mission. These disputes had given such offence that Congress were under the necessity either of recalling him or passing the instructions. They chose the latter as the least injurious to their national dignity. He was

satisfied at the time & is still satisfied that it did not lessen our security. The Court of France by her treaties with us was bound only to maintain our independence absolute and unlimited as well in matters of government as commerce. These being secured she had a right to judge whether she would continue the war for other objects claimed by us, in the same manner as we had to judge whether we would continue the war on her account for objects not contained in the treaty. Our ministers were not restrained from urging everything they thought proper to obtain what we wished or desired. They could contend to the last and if obliged to submit they could enter their protest. Could they have done more if left quite at liberty? Congress adopted the only thing in their power to secure the rights of all the States. They added more members to M^r^ Adams and those from different parts of the continent. This removed every suspicion or fear that the interest of one part would be sacrificed to secure that of another. He then touched upon the jealousy which a change in our instructions w^d^ excite, the opinion that would be formed of our instability & possibly of our ambition. G. B. had taken great pains to impress the Courts in Europe with an opinion that we aim at conquest. France had even imbibed some suspicion of that sort & therefore her former minister had in a free conference with Congress urged the necessity of moderation. He concluded with observing that as the confidence placed in France was a mere compliment and not a giving up any real security, he should be against withdrawing it and should therefor vote for postponing.

M^r^ Rutledge said it was true France was bound to maintain the independence of the States but he wanted to know what were the States. He did not enter into the war for himself or for those inhabiting the lands on the waters falling into the Atlantic, but for posterity; for those who would hereafter inhabit

the country beyond the mountains to the extent formerly claimed by the crown of Great Britain as belonging to these thirteen States. He would continue the war forever rather than be circumscribed in narrower bounds. He should therefore be against postponing.

The question being put passed in the affirmative.

Mr Madison then proposed his resolution and was seconded by Mr Witherspoon.

Mr Rutledge resumed the debate; he was against the motion as explained. It is absolutely to ascertain our boundaries & define our other claims. He understood that the minister of France in a conference with the Comtt who brought in the instructions of June 1780 had pressed them to fix the claims of the U. S. They ought to have done it; as they did not then do it it ought to be done now. They had no business to suppose we had disputed boundaries. There were other matters that might come on the carpet in a negotiation for peace. We had withdrawn the instructions and powers formerly given respecting a treaty of commerce with G. B.; we should say something on that matter.

He therefore would propose to postpone the present motion & if that was carried he would move—

That a Comtt be appointed to revise the instructions to the ministers plenipotentiary of the U. S. for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with G. B. & to consider & report if any and what instructions should be given to them respecting such treaty & for negotiating a treaty of commerce with G. B. The motion for postponing being seconded by Mr Dyer.

Mr Witherspoon seemed to admit that the minister had desired the Comtt to fix their boundaries; that it could not be done so as to make it an ultimatum to the satisfaction of all the States. He observed that the happiness of the people on this side of the Alleghany Mountains was a sufficient object to induce

them to enter into the war; that some of the States had their boundaries fixed and determined; that the State he had the honor to represent was one of them; that it had not entered into the war nor would it he believed be willing to continue it for the sake of boundless claims of wild uncultivated country; more especially as it was a matter of dispute & will undoubtedly occasion much contention among the States to whom that country if ceded will of right belong that what relates to a treaty of commerce will come within the objects of the present motion; he is therefore against postponing it.

Mr Jackson wished to have an exposition of our rights made out and laid before the King of France, & that he should be informed nothing less will satisfy the people of this Country.

Mr Telfair. For his part he thinks it no matter who gives up our rights if they must be given up, whether the King of France or our ministers; he is for fixing our boundaries to the Mississippi. As to our claims beyond that to the South Sea he would leave them to discretion. Something more was said but rather in the way of conversation.

The question for postponing being put passed in the negative. On the question for agreeing to Mr Madison's motion, the yeas and nays being required by Mr Telfair—

New Hampshire,	Mr. Gilman,	No.	×
Massachusetts,	Mr. Osgood,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Jackson,	Ay.	
Rhode Island,	Mr. Cornell,	No.	No.
	Mr. Howell,	No.	
Connecticut,	Mr. Root,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Huntington,	Ay.	
	Mr. Dyer,	Ay.	

New York,	Mr. Duane,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Scott,	Ay.	
New Jersey,	Mr. Condict,	No.	Divided.
	Mr. Witherspoon,	Ay.	
Pensylvania,	Mr. Smith,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Clymer,	Ay.	
Delaware,	Mr. M^{c}Kean,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Wharton,	Ay.	
Maryland,	Mr. Hanson,	Ay.	×
Virginia,	Mr. Madison,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Bland,	Ay.	
	Mr. Lee,	Ay.	
N. Carolina,	Mr. Williamson,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Blount,	Ay.	
S. Carolina,	Mr. Rutledge,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Ramsay,	Ay.	
	Mr. Izard,	Ay.	
	Mr. Midleton,	Ay.	
Georgia,	Mr. Telfair,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Jones,	Ay.	
	Mr. Few,	Ay.	

The Com^{tt} was appointed consisting of M^{r} Madison, M^{r} Rutledge, M^{r} Witherspoon, M^{r} Jackson and M^{r} Duane.

Friday, Augst 9.

This day a letter was rec^{d} from Gen^{l} Washington enclosing a copy of a letter to him from Guy Carleton & R. Digby dated New York, August 2, & in which they acquaint him "that negotiations

for a general peace have already commenced at Paris & that Mr Grenville is invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war & is now at Paris in the execution of his commission," that the ministers of G. B. are commanded "to direct Mr Grenville that the independency of the thirteen provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance instead of making it a condition of a general treaty, however not without the highest confidence that the loyalists shall be restored to their possessions or a full compensation made them for what ever confiscations may have taken place," that Mr Laurens has been enlarged and discharged from all engagements without any condition whatever, after which he declared of his own accord that he considered Lord Cornwallis as freed from the parole. "Upon this point they desire his excellency's sentiments or those of Congress." That transports have been prepared in England for conveying all the American prisoners to this Country to be exchanged here, "that they are directed to urge the most speedy exchange." They conclude with renewing the proposition that all exchanges of men of the same description being exchanged sailor & soldier be exchanged man for man against each other, with this condition annexed, that our sailors shall be at liberty to serve the moment they are exchanged & that the soldiers so received by them shall not serve in or against the thirteen provinces for one year. Advice being received at the same time that this letter as soon as written was communicated to the inhabitants of N. York and printed in hand bills & Congress having received no advices from their ministers abroad of what was passing in Europe, it was judged proper to refer the letter to a Comtt that they might consider and report what was proper to be done. The comtt Mr Lee, Mr Witherspoon & Mr Rutledge.

The remainder of the day was spent in reading the proceedings of a general Court Martial on the trial of Major Genl McDougal.

Monday, August 12.

The Com^tt^ on the letter from Carleton and Digby made a report, whereupon Congress, in order to obviate an opinion that was prevailing of their having received overtures for a peace, directed the letter to be published & resolved that they considered the letter as mere matter of information, inexplicit as to the nature and extent of the independence directed to be proposed. That as they have received no information on this subject from their ministers for negotiating a peace, no public measure can or ought to be taken upon in its present form. They recommended it to the several States not to remit of their exertions for carrying on the War with vigor as the only effectual means of securing a safe and honorable peace. And as the British Commanders had heretofore always refused to settle a cartel under pretence that it would be in fact an acknowledgement of our independency, they resolved to put the British Commander's sincerity to the test and therefore directed Gen^l^ Washington to propose to them the appointment of Commissioners to settle forth-with a general cartel for the exchange of prisoners, take care that the liquidation of accounts & settlement of the balances due for the maintenance of prisoners be provided for therein. The Com^tt^ proposed and reported that the General should be directed to empower his Commissioners to release Cornwallis from his parole, in return for the indulgence granted to M^r^ Laurens. But M^r^ Rutledge, one of the Com^tt^, inveighed against this with so much warmth and indignation that it was rejected with a loud and general *no* from every part of the house.

Nothing was said on the proposition for exchanging soldiers for seamen, Congress deeming it inexpedient to touch upon that matter at present or to do anything that might serve as a pretext for refusing to settle a cartel; and apprehending, if a general cartel was

established, provision might be made therein for the release of our seamen as well as for preventing the capture of unarmed citizens.

Thursday, August 15th.

The Comtt appointed on the 8th to take into consideration and report the most advisable means of securing to the United States the several objects claimed by them, and not included in their ultimatum for peace of 15 June, 1781, reported as their opinion: "That the Comtt to whom was referred "the report of a previous Comtt relative to the said "claims, be instructed to deliver over to the Secry "for Foreign Affairs the materials which they may "have collected in support thereof, and that the said "Secry perfect & transmit the same to the Ministers "Plenry for negotiating peace, for their information & "use; provided that nothing which shall be done by "virtue of this resolution shall be construed to affect "any dispute which now does, or may hereafter ex- "ist between individual States, or between the United "States & individual States. That the Min. Plen. "for negotiating peace be instructed to communicate "to his M. C. M. so much of the facts & observa- "tions so transmitted, & in such form as they shall "judge fit, representing to his My that Congress have "caused the same to be compiled & laid before him, "under a persuasion that he will find therein such "clear proofs, both of the validity and importance of "all their claims, as will silence any pretensions by "which they may be opposed. This representation "of the grounds of the said claims was rendered the "more essential on the part of Congress by the ex- "treme solicitude of their Constituents, with regard to "those objects, and by the ardent desire of Con- "gress, not only that this just solicitude should be "eventually satisfied, but that it may be found that

"every useful precaution had been taken to that end; "that the favourable circumstances under which a ne- "gotiation is likely to be carried on, afford additional "confidence that the issue will not disappoint the ex- "pectations of the U. S., nor the zeal with which his "Ma^{y} has assured them he shall support their inter- "ests; but, on the contrary, that the magnanimity "and wisdom which led his Ma^{y} into the war in "their behalf, and which have marked his conduct "through the course of it, will appear with fresh lustre "in the act by which it is to be terminated, and that "the alliance and amity which have been cemented by "the mingled blood of the two nations, will derive still "further stability from the final attainment of the just "demands of both of them."

M^{r} Bland objected to the first part, he wanted to see what the Committee had prepared before he gave a vote for referring it to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

M^{r} Jones had no objection against the papers going into the hands of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but he should be ordered to report thereon, and not to transmit anything to the Ministers, for negotiating a peace until it had received the approbation of Congress.

M^{r} Madison said it was the design of the Com^{tt} that Congress should give no opinion or judgment in the matter. That the papers should go to our Ministers merely as information, not as instructions; that this would not be the case if Congress decided thereon, or even if the Secretary for Foreign Affairs laid before Congress what he proposed to transmit. For by the instruction of the office for foreign affairs papers going in that way from the Sec^{ry} for Foreign Affairs to our Ministers abroad were to be considered as acts of Congress & binding on the ministers, whereas the letters and papers from him to them which were not submitted to the view or consideration of Congress were only to be regarded as mere private opinion and in-

formation, by which the conduct of the Ministers would be influenced no farther than their judgment directed.

August 16th.

Mr Montgomery, one of the Committee to whom was referred a report of a Comtt on instructions to the Delegates of Massachusetts respecting the fisheries, informed the house that Mr Randolph, who had been the Chairman of the Comtt, had collected a number of facts and observations in support of the several Claims of the United States, not included in their ultimatum of the 15th June, 1781, that he had submitted them to the consideration of Mr Carroll another member of the Committee; that Mr Carroll had made sundry remarks and observations; that upon leaving Congress he had left Mr Randolph's state of facts and observations with him the only remaining member, & had requested him not to lay them before Congress until he returned and had an opportunity of finishing his remarks and stating his objections; that this was the reason why the Committee had delayed to report, but as the Committee which reported yesterday seemed to refer to Mr Randolph's "facts and observations," and sundry members had expressed a desire to see them, he had therefore laid them on the table with a report. The report was read in the following words:

"The Comtt to whom was referred the report on instructions to the Delegates of Massachusetts, report that they have collected facts and observations herewith reported to Congress, which they recommend to be referred to the Secry for Foreign Affairs to be by him digested, completed and transmitted to the Ministers Plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace for their information and use."

The facts and observations reported by the Comtt were then called for and ordered to be read.

Facts and Observations in support of the several Claims of the United States not included in their Ultimatum of the 15*th of June*, 1781.

1. Our common right to take fish in the North American seas, and particularly in that part of them which goes under the name of the banks of Newfoundland, has its origin in the natural incapacity of the sea to be appropriated.

The practice of nations hath, for the sake of safety and tranquillity, abridged this freedom of the ocean, by annexing to the coast a reasonable tract of the water; and Great Britain, by availing herself of this usage, may possibly arrogate the exclusive enjoyment of the banks, as appurtenant to the island of Newfoundland.

These banks, the nearest point of which is thirty-five leages distant from Cape Race, are too far advanced in the Atlantick to be a dependance of the shores. There has been great division among writers in determining to what extent the sea is to be considered as incidental to the territory which it washes. Some have apportioned one hundred miles, others sixty, and others as much as could be seen from land in a fair day. See Anderson's History of Commerce, 2 vol. 17. appendix.

If we pass from theory to the stipulations of treaties, we shall find better aid, but by no means uniformity. By better aid, we mean British precedents; for against these, a British king surely will not struggle.

In the second year of James the First, commissioners were appointed on the part of England and Scotland, to treat of and conclude a union between the two kingdoms. By the articles for the regulation of trade, the sea, for the space of fourteen miles from the coast of Scotland, was reserved to Scotchmen only; and it was reciprocally provided in favour of Englishmen. See Spotswood's History of Scotland, 483, and 2 Anderson, Appendix, 17.

Should this example be thought to lose the force of its application, from having been the agreement of the subjects of one and the same prince, a letter may be quoted from Secretary Staunton to Lord Carlton, the English ambassador at the Hague, bearing date the 21st of January, 1618. In it the ambassador is commanded to urge the states general, in the name of King James, to publish a placart prohibiting their subjects to fish within fourteen miles of his coasts until the main business should be finally accommodated by commissioners.

The treaty of Paris, in 1763, to which his most Christian majesty as well as his Britannick majesty was a party, excludes the French from the exercise of the fishery in the gulf of St. Lawrence only within three leagues from the shore, extending the distance round Cape Breton to fifteen leagues.

By inspecting the ancient treaties between England and the dukes of Britanny and Burgundy, we shall find that the portion of the sea which is supposed to belong to the coast is so far from being increased beyond fourteen miles, or even three leagues, that the liberty of fishing in every part thereof is asserted. See treaties between Henry Sixth, and the Dutchess of Burgundy; Edward Fourth, and Francis, duke of Britanny; Henry Seventh, and Philip Fourth, Archduke of Austria; and Duke of Burgundy and Henry Eighth and Charles Fifth, Emperor and Duke of Burgundy.

Had the kings of England esteemed the fisheries the property of the crown, they would not have admitted aliens to a promiscuous fishing with their own subjects without some valuable consideration, or an acknowledgment by way of *salvo jure*. But, instead of a proceeding like this, they have in a succession of ages deliberately omitted to challenge to themselves the sole right of the fisheries.

Queen Elizabeth too, being involved in a dispute with the king of Denmark concerning the fishery at

Wardhuys, near the North Cape, instructs her plenipotentiaries to deny that "the property of the sea at any "distance whatsoever is consequent to the banks." The king of Denmark does not attempt in his reply to establish what she had thus denied, but rests his exclusive claims upon the authority of old treaties between the two crowns. See Rymer's Foedera, tom. 16th, p. 425

Thus it appears, upon strict principles of natural law, the sea is unsusceptible of appropriation; that a species of conventional law has annexed a reasonable district of it to the coast which borders on it; and that in many of the treaties to which Great Britain has acceded, no distance has been assumed for this purpose beyond fourteen miles.

Were these rules then allowed to influence the pretensions of Great Britain with respect to the banks of Newfoundland, they would be readily condemned. Nor could they be supported, were the sea appendant to the shore as far as thirty leagues, the greatest distance, perhaps, which has at any time been ceded to the king of England by treaty.

Nations may indeed, either by positive contract, or by long and silent acquiescence under exclusion, renounce their privileges in the sea. But the United States have not only never disclaimed their right of fishing therein, but have been in the constant enjoyment of it during the existence of British government, and occasionally so ever since the revolution.

It deserves attention, that the fisheries furnish the inhabitants of a considerable part of the United States with an important proportion of their subsistence, and the means of their commerce. Should they lose this resource by the accomplishment of independence, an event from which very different expectations have been cherished, and which ought to bestow equal advantages on all who have labored equally in giving birth to it, such a loss cannot fail to be attended with disappointment and mortifying comparisons.

As it is the aim of the maritime powers to circumscribe, as far as equity will suffer, all exclusive claims to the sea, we trust his most Christian majesty will coincide with our present doctrines. Perhaps, however, the ninth and tenth articles of the treaty of amity and commerce may be supposed, from a little ambiguity in their language, to forbid us to insist on a participation of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, as being frequented and enjoyed by the subjects of France. But what is the genuine construction of these articles?

The ninth begins with a general stipulation, that the subjects of one party shall abstain from fishing in all places possessed or to be possessed by the other; interdicts those of France from fishing in the havens, bays, creeks, roads, coasts or places which the United States hold, or shall hereafter hold, as well as the inhabitants of the United States, from fishing in the havens, bays, creeks, roads, coasts or places which the most Christian king possesses, or shall hereafter possess. But this exclusion is to take place only so long and so far as an exemption shall not in this respect have been granted to some other nation.

The tenth article binds the United States and their citizens not to disturb the subjects of the most christian king in the exercise of the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, nor in their indefinite and exclusive privileges on the coast of the island of that name, conformably to the true sense and meaning of the treaties of Utrecht and Paris.

If it can be truly said, that the fisheries in the gulf of St. Lawrence and on the banks of Newfoundland are possessed or holden by France, the citizens of the United States are entitled, according to the provision of the ninth article, to like access with the subjects of Great Britain.

But the sea cannot be holden or possessed, these terms implying appropriation. They accord well with havens, bays, creeks, roads or coasts; and also

with "places," should this word be confined, as it ought to be in its interpretation, to waters susceptible of occupancy.

Had it been conceived that the ninth article debarred the United States from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, it would have been unnecessary to guard in the tenth against the molestation of the French in fishing there. Besides, an engagement not to disturb, does of itself import that the citizens of the United States may fish, if they do not disturb.

There seems too a remarkable antithesis between the right of fishing and the right derived from the treaty of Utrecht, as to the coast of the island of Newfoundland. The former is called simply the enjoyment and exercise of the right of fishing; but the latter is more pointedly denominated indefinite and exclusive. In a word, we are persuaded, from our experience of the candour and friendship of his most Christian majesty, that it was not his design to depress the United States by thrusting them from a share of the fisheries, which Providence appears to have destined for their use; but rather to secure the fisheries of his own country from encroachment, and his subjects from interruption in those of America.

2. With respect to the boundaries of the States. The patent to the council of Plymouth, bearing date the 18th of November, 1620, is the parent from which the Eastern States proceed.

New Hampshire claims under the royal commission appointing Benning Wentworth, esquire, governour of that province, on the 13th July, in the fifteenth year of the reign of George the Second.

Massachusetts claims under the charter granted by William and Mary, on the 17th October, 1691. The treaty of Paris fixes the Mississippi as the western limit of the old colony of Massachusetts Bay, which is one of the colonies incorporated by that charter. See old charter of 4th March, 1628–9.

The charter of April 23, 1662, granted by Charles

the Second to Winthrop and others, is the ground of the territorial claims of Connecticut. The treaty of Paris is allowed to restrict that state also to the Mississippi.

On the 8th July, 1662, the same prince granted the charter under which Rhode Island claims.

New York assigns, as sources of the title, the grant from Charles Second to the duke of York, in 1663, the capitulation of the Dutch in the same year, the treaty of Westminster, 1674, and the renewal or confirmation of the duke's grant immediately after the treaty. This state adds, that the lands on the west side of Connecticut River belong to it under the farther [right] accruing by the subjection of the Five Nations, the native proprietors; and that the country, as far northward as the river St. Lawrence, and westward without known limits, is the property of New York, as having been formerly possessed by those tribes of Indians and their tributaries. The treaties with those nations in 1684, 1701, 1726, 1744, and 1754, are particularly referred to.

On the 23d June, 1664, the Duke of York conveyed, out of his aforesaid grant to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the limits which New Jersey claims. Upon this ground, and the resignation of the government into the hands of the crown on the 14th August, 1703, is the title of this state built.

Pennsylvania claims under the charter granted by Charles the Second, on the 4th of March, 1681–2, to William Penn.

Delaware claims under two grants from the Duke of York to William Penn, on the 24th August, 1683.

On the 20th June, 1632, Charles the First granted to Lord Baltimore the limits which Maryland claims.

Virginia claims under the charter granted by James First, on the 23d of May, 1609, to the treasurer and company, the resumption of the country into the hands of the king, and the charter of Charles Second to the colony of Virginia, on the 10th October, 1676. The treaty of Paris marks its western boundary.

North Carolina and South Carolina claim jointly in the first instance under the charter of 1662, to Clarendon and others, and its confirmation in 1664, with an extension of limits. The British statute of 1729, enabling the king to pay the consideration of the surrender of the proprietors, makes a material point in their case. The separate claims of these two states depend upon the act which divided them. The treaty of Paris defines the western boundary of each.

The first grant on which Georgia relies, is that made to the trustees on the 8th June, 1732, and limited to the west by the treaty of Paris. The second grant is the proclamation of 1763.

Were the lands included within these limits merely such as were granted to individuals and settled, or granted and not settled, at the time of the revolution, they could not be brought into controversy. For no question can arise concerning boundaries until the recognition of independence; and this event, by deposing the king of Great Britain from the rank of lord paramount and chief magistrate of America, destroys the only principles by which lands falling within the two preceding descriptions could return into his power. But the views, interests and conduct of his Britannick majesty forbid us to expect that he will acknowledge the territory remaining ungranted at the era of independence to be, in like manner, the property of the United States, or of the particular states within the limits of which it is comprised.

It is therefore incumbent on us to show—

First, That the territorial rights of the thirteen United States, while in the character of British colonies, were the same with those defined in the instructions given to Mr. J. Adams on the day of August, 1779; and,

Secondly, That the United States, considered as independent sovereignties, have succeeded to those rights; or,

Thirdly, That if the vacant lands cannot be de-

manded upon the preceding grounds, that is, upon the titles of individual states, they are to be deemed to have been the property of his Britannick majesty immediately before the revolution, and to be now devolved upon the United States collectively taken.

First, So fair are our pretensions rendered by the united operation of the grants, charters, royal commissions and Indian cessions enumerated above, that we shall content ourselves with reviewing the objections which will most probably be urged against them, without entering into direct proofs of our titles.

First objection. Even upon the supposition that the charter of Massachusetts is valid, so as to cover the vacant lands, still it does not follow, that St. John's River is part of its eastern boundary. For that river is contended to be in Nova Scotia under the expression in the new charter of Massachusetts, in 1691, which conveys the country between the province of Maine and Nova Scotia. The southwest boundary of Nova Scotia, therefore, will regulate this claim. But it is well known that in the altercation between France and Great Britain, upon this very subject, in 1751, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was asserted by the latter to be bounded by Pentagoet or Penobscot River.

Answer. It is to be observed, that when the boundaries of the United States were declared to be an ultimatum, it was not thought advisable to continue the war merely to obtain territory as far as St. John's River; but that the dividing line of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia was to be consigned to future settlement. It must be confessed also that this country, which is said in the new charter to border on Nova Scotia and the province of Maine, on opposite sides, and which goes under the name of Sagadahock, cannot be proved to extend to the river St. John, as clearly as to that of St. Croix. But there is some reason, notwithstanding, to believe that Nova Scotia was never supposed by the British King, in any grant to his subjects, to come to the south of St. John's River, although he

might have exacted from France a relinquishment of the lands to the river Penobscot, or even Kennebeck, as a part of Nova Scotia.

The first notice taken of Nova Scotia by the king of Great Britain was in a grant which he made of that country to Sir William Alexander, on the 10th September, 1621. According to this grant, it was to begin at Cape Sable, to extend towards St. Mary's Bay, to cross the great bay between the Etchemins and Sourigois to the mouth of the river St. Croix, to run up to the source of that river, and from thence by a strait line drawn northwardly to the great river of Canada. On the 12th July, 1625, a patent issued to the same Sir William Alexander, confirming to him the same.

These grants could not reach to the west of St. Croix, "because" (say the English commissaries in their memorial of the 11th January, 1751, s. 42,) "all "the country to the westward of the river St. Croix "had, in the year 1620, before the date of the first of "them, been granted by King James to certain of his "subjects, by the name of the council of Plymouth, of "which grantees Sir William Alexander was one, and "who, by virtue of an agreement among the said "grantees, possessed the country lying between the "river St. Croix and Pemaquid, a little to the west-"ward of Pentagoet."

Popple's map, which was undertaken, as the author relates, with the approbation of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, makes St. Croix the western boundary of Nova Scotia. Champlain expressly bounds Acadia by St. Croix to the westward. We may add, as being further corroborative of this western limit of Nova Scotia, that the English commissaries themselves, in their reply of the 4th October, 1751, commend the map in the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrim as the first ancient map of Nova Scotia and New England deserving notice; the latter of which they assert to be bounded northwardly, as is delineated in the map, by the river St. Croix. The same

commissaries afterwards remark, that it is clear from history that the country between the rivers Sagadahock and St. Croix had been settled many years earlier than the date of the new charter of Massachusetts; and that Great Britain considered it as a part of her American colonies. It could not have been included within Nova Scotia, since it is expressly contradistinguished from it. Sagadahock too is granted to the duke of York under the description of "all that part "of the main land of New England beginning at a cer- "tain place called or known by the name of St. Croix "adjoining to New Scotland in America."

Should it be argued, that it was manifestly the opinion in England at the time of granting the new charter that the lands between the rivers Sagadahock and St. Croix were not included within the limits of Massachusetts, since grants of them were not valid until confirmed by the crown;—an answer arises from two considerations. First, this charter incorporates these lands into the province of Massachusetts in unequivocal terms; and, secondly, one at least of the counsellors directed to be chosen yearly for the province at large, was to be from the inhabitants or proprietors of lands within this territory. The board of trade and plantations on the 29th April, 1700, declared in a solemn act, that New England ought of right to extend to St. Croix. See the act.

It does not appear then, that Nova Scotia hath ever been carried to the west of the river St. Croix in any British grant, or any British document relative to New England. We own that in the memorials of the court of Great Britain to the French court, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, relative to the boundaries of Nova Scotia, Penobscot River is sometimes asserted to be one of its boundaries, and Kennebeck, at others. But nothing is proved from thence, but a desire in the British king to procure an absolute release from France of all her pretensions, however distant. For a general discussion on this subject, see the British and French

memorials on the occasion, and the treaties of St. Germain, on the 29th of March, 1632, of Westminster, 3d November, 1655, and of Breda, 31st July, 1667.

As to the territory of Sagadahock, which is synonimous with the lands between the province of Maine and Nova Scotia, conveyed by the new charter, we can only observe upon the expression already cited from the grant thereof to the Duke of York, that the "place called St. Croix adjoining to New Scotland" must mean the territory which went by that name. Had the river only been designed, it alone would have been mentioned. It seems to have been the practice of those times to denominate a country from a river which bounded it. The river Sagadahock accordingly, at first, gave its own appellation to the whole country as far as the river St. Croix, and afterwards to the country from thence to St. Johns, which had before been called St. Croix. The *place*, therefore, called St. Croix, adjoining to New Scotland, was most likely intended to describe the lands between the rivers St. Croix and St. Johns. History does not inform us that any particular spot of them was known as St. Croix. But as the first course of the grant to the Duke of York plainly runs from Nova Scotia to Massachusetts along the seacoast, it is probable that it was to begin at the first point in the country of St. Croix on the coast. This must have been on St. John's River. And as the last line of the grant is not closed, it is more agreeable to the usage of those days to adopt a natural boundary. For this purpose, St. John's River was obvious as far as its head, and afterwards a line to the great river of Canada. See grant to the Duke of York for Sagadahock, 12th March, 166–34.

We are obliged to urge probabilities, because in the early possession of a rough unreclaimed country accuracy of lines cannot be much attended to. But we wish that the northeastern boundary of Massachusetts may be left to future discussion, when other evidences may be obtained which the war has removed from us.

Second objection. But let the new charter of Massachusetts comprehend, by its expressions, the country from the river St. Croix to that of St. Johns, and the title papers of the other states cover by their terms ever so much land, they cannot be supposed, at this day, to justify such wide limits as are demanded in Mr. Adams's instructions of August, 1779.

For 1. The charters of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, never had any serious western limit, since the South Sea was thought to be nearer the Atlantick than it really is; and if its true position had been known, such a grant would have been too extravagant.

2. The charters of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, were granted to proprietors, and that of Georgia to trustees, and were afterwards resumed into the king's hands. It is therefore incumbent on those states to show, either their right of succession to the proprietors and trustees, in opposition to the resumption of the crown, or an obligation on the crown to appropriate to them, when changed into royal governments, the same boundaries which they held when proprietary or fiduciary.

3. The treaties with the Five [Nations] under which New England claims, transferred to that colony no title to their lands.

4. The proclamation of 1763 abridged all the colonies which claimed beyond the sources of the rivers falling into the Atlantick to those sources.

5. By the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, the king of Great Britain bought from the Six Nations, in his own name, a great part of the country claimed by Virginia to the west of the Alleghany Mountains; and by several other treaties with the Indian tribes, purchases have been made within its chartered limits, from which it may be inferred, that this colony was before destitute of right to the lands so purchased: And,

6. The statute of the British parliament, commonly

called the Quebec act, in 1774, cuts off the extensive claims of the United States.

Answer to objection second, part first. It cannot be admitted that even a miscomputation of the distance between the Atlantick and Pacifick Oceans, vitiates the charters which extend from the one to the other. In every contest among the European powers concerning the soil of America, the validity of charters hath been conceded. See treaties of Germain, Westminster, and Breda, and the memorials of the commissaries above referred to.

The king of Great Britain will not fail to acknowledge their sacredness while he calls to mind the doctrine of the British laws, by which the charters of corporations are protected. Of how much more importance is a charter granted to the suffering explorers of the American wilderness.

It is also remarkable, that during the rage for the sacrifice of American charters in the reign of Charles II. some of them were vacated by the judgments of a court, by which their former legal existence was recognised; and that the arbitrary administration of a Stuart himself would not attempt to destroy a charter without the formality of legal process. An American charter then, being thus respectable in its nature, equity will not suffer it to be annulled on account of a misconception of its contents, when the grantees could not possibly [have] contributed to the mistake by fraudulently withholding information upon the subject, and when the king hath never pretended that he was deceived, or erred. But had the interval between those seas been precisely ascertained, it is not probable that the king of England would have divided the chartered boundaries now in question into more governments. For perhaps his principal object at that time was to acquire by that of occupancy which originated in this western world, to wit, by charters, a title of the lands comprehended therein against foreign powers. The seacoast too was not in his opinion more

than sufficient for the territory of a single colony, as is manifested in the charter to Virginia, in 1609; and the interiour parts, overspread as they were by savages, and distant as they must be from that relief from Europe without which the new settlements would certainly have perished, would have been a pitiful instance of royal bounty, and no temptation to emigrants; nor is this merely conjectural. Let the charters which run to the South Sea be reviewed in chronological order. By this it will be found, that these extensive limits did not creep in through inadvertence, as they were repeated long after the errour had been removed as to the distance of that sea.

On the 23d of May, 1609, James I. granted the charter under which Virginia claims.

On the 3d of November, 1620, the charter to the council at Plymouth was granted.

On the 4th of March, 1628–9, the charter of the old colony of Massachusetts was dated.

On the 20th of March, 1662, the first charter of Carolina was granted.

On the 20th of April, 1662, Connecticut received its charter.

On the 30th of June, 1664, the second charter of Carolina was granted.

On the 7th of October, 1691, the new charter of Massachusetts, which among other things re-established the old colony, was granted.

In 1732, Georgia was erected into a separate government.

If it be necessary to seek other illustrations, an appeal may be made to the act of the British Parliament in 1729, (2 G. 2. ch. 34.) which has been already noted, and recites the charter of Carolina as extending to the South Sea. Nay, as late as the year 1740, five commissioners were appointed on the part of the king, and five on that of Lord Carteret, to assign to his lordship his one-eighth of Carolina, which he had refused to surrender; and the South Sea was fixed the

western limit of the territory allotted to him. We cannot forbear to add a general concession from the crown in the several charters, that when doubts should arise, the construction should be strict against himself, and liberal in behalf of the grantees.

Answer to second part of second objection. The facts related in this branch of the second objection are true; but we shall not attempt to prove that the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, were lawful successors to the rights of the proprietors. We assume, that the lands described by the charters of those colonies were, from the necessary operation, subjected to the jurisdiction of the governments of those colonies respectively; and therefore, that they would have constantly remained so subject during the existence of the proprietary administration, even if the proprietors had had a right to throw them off from that jurisdiction, unless some act of dismemberment had been done. But we protest against such a right of dismemberment being lodged in the proprietors, except with the assent of the people.

The charters of the abovementioned colonies were contracts, to which the king, the proprietors and the emigrants and their posterity were parties. The consideration paid by the king for the product of mines and of future commerce, was the protection of the proprietors and emigrants. The proprietors disbursed money for the expenses of the first settlement, and were the owners of the soil, and the managers of the government. The emigrants were the actual improvers of the country, promising themselves and their descendants the superintending care of their sovereign, a mild government of the proprietors, and a continuance of the boundaries defined in their charters. We say a continuance of the boundaries: For there were good grounds why the first planters should be opposed to an alteration of boundaries at the will of the proprietors. 1. A power to restrain the proprietors from separating them into different bodies, the

obliging them to defray the charges of government in many feeble hamlets, was essential to their welfare, if not to their safety, and was therefore very probably in their contemplation. 2. The southern district of British America was believed to be fertile in the precious metals. The greater therefore the extent of territory was which lays within a government there, the happier was the prospect of obtaining wealth. 3. Had the proprietors been at liberty to disperse the inhabitants into distinct societies by cantoning the chartered limits into any number of new colonies, the opportunity for oppression would have been ruinous. They might have exacted some hard service, and threatened their tenants with a division of their country on failure of compliance; by which means they would have been exposed to the severe alternative of acquiescing in the tyranny or undergoing the ravages of Indian warfare from the difficulties inevitably attendant upon concentrating the force of various communities. 4. The emigrants hoped that themselves and their posterity would find a facility of living unknown in Europe, and freedom in religion. How obviously might the former, connected as it is with agriculture and manufactures, and the latter, dependent as it also sometimes is upon the association of persons of a similar persuasion, have been prevented by an arbitrary and malicious contraction of limits. 5. These ideas are supported by the charters themselves. The proprietors and settlers of South Virginia had received a charter on the 10th April, 1606, of which, and the liberties and privileges contained therein, that of 23d of May, 1609, is declared to be an enlargement and explanation, and is an express confirmation. S. 27. These two charters then forming one system in the same manner with two laws, one of which enlarges and explains the other, it is correct to argue from both.

The first charter recites that Sir Thomas Gates and his fellow adventurers were desirous of dividing

themselves into two several colonies and companies. § 2. In section 2, the king commends the undertaking; in section 4, gives one hundred miles square to the first colony; and the like quantity, in s. 5, to the second. This cannot be said to favour any subdivision of chartered territory. S. 4 and 5. Every other subject was prohibited from planting, or inhabiting behind either of the two colonies. This prohibition was plainly dictated by the danger apprehended from the establishment of distinct governments. In no part of this charter is provision made for the government of more than two colonies. It was impossible then for the proprietors to institute different governments. A new and separate colony erected by their authority could not have a seal, establish a coin, and convey the franchises of British natives to persons born therein of British subjects, nor designate grantees of land. In short, the charter of 1606 does constantly discountenance divisions of the territory for the purpose of additional provinces. The transition is now easy to the charter of 1609. It was granted not to the adventurers, that is, the proprietors only, but to the planters also; not from undue partiality, but from respect to their great charges, and the hazard of their lives in the discovery and plantation of the country. Here is a valuable consideration paid by the planters, equal in dignity to the merit of the proprietors, and entitling them to demand that the territory be not impaired. Like observations to those on the charter of 1606 may be used on this occasion. Had the proprietors carved out a new government, it could have acquired its rights, as such, only from a fresh grant from the crown, or the charter of 1609. If the crown must have been resorted to, the charter could not have authorized the measure. But the truth is, that the charter enabled the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the first colony of Virginia only, to plead and be impleaded; to hold lands within the limits of the charter; to distribute lands under a common seal; to have a council

resident in England; to search for mines; to encourage emigration from British dominions; to be free from certain subsidies for twenty years; to seize vessels trafficking without license within the precincts of the charter; and to dispense criminal and martial law: nor are the liberties of natural subjects granted to any person born within the limits of the charter, but as those limits constitute the first colony of Virginia. In a third charter passed to the treasurer and company of Virginia, on the 12th March, 1711–12, the same unity is preserved to the first colony throughout, and a separation is not alluded to in the most distant way. But it is an argument of real force with respect to Virginia, that the charters of 1609 and 1611–12 were granted to the treasurer and company as a corporation, and that it is a firm principle of British law, that a corporation cannot exclude from their jurisdiction lands placed within it by the terms of its constitution. Analogous to the charters of Virginia are those of the two Carolinas, or more properly of Carolina, respecting the indivisibility of their limits. The territory described therein, and the province of Carolina, are synonimous in many instances.

In the last clause but two in the second charter, the royal word is pledged to the proprietors, "their heirs "and assigns, and to the tenants and inhabitants of "the said province or territory, both present and to "come, and to every of them, that the said province "or territory, and the tenants and inhabitants thereof, "shall not from henceforth be held or reputed any "member or part of any colony whatsoever in Ameri-"ca or elsewhere, now transported or made, or here-"after to be transported or made; nor shall be de-"pending on or subject to their government in any "thing, but be absolutely separated and divided from "the same." Nay, so little was the power of altering the limits conceived to be inherent in the proprietors, that the authority to divide the territory into counties was delegated to them in positive terms.

It must however be confessed that before the surrender of the charter, in 1729, North and South Carolina had each a governour, council and assembly. But this separation of jurisdictions was not the creature of the proprietors alone, but was effected with the approbation of the inhabitants, some of whom laboured under great inconvenience from having the metropolis and the settled country around it distant from them three hundred miles and upwards. See Lawson's History of Carolina, p. 256.

The example of New Jersey cannot be cited against the right of the people to demand from the proprietors an entirety of territory. For the very grant upon which they rest expressly warrants an equal division between Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. See the Duke of York's grant. The argument from hence would rather be, that when the power of division was intended it was specially mentioned.

It would be tedious to detail, in this place, the many passages in the charters to Lord Baltimore and Mr. Penn, which maintain the principle that the first limits ought to be permanent. So opposite to private emolument was the office of the trustees of Georgia, that they enjoyed no right which was not for the benefit of the people. The limits granted to the trustees were in fact granted to them.

What change, then, was wrought by the conversion of the proprietary governments of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, and the fiduciary one of Georgia, into royal?

Virginia. It is needless to inquire whether the charter of 1609 was abolished lawfully or not. Because, as its abolition was the act of the king, he cannot contend that it was produced by violence or injustice; and the company and their successors have yielded to the resumption from 1624 to this day, without bringing it to a forensick discussion, or endeavouring to reverse it by a petition to the crown. Either of these remedies was easy, and constitutional. But a superior rea-

son is, that a dispute between the king and company, two of the three parties to the charter, ought not to prejudice the people of Virginia, who were the third, who stipulated with the proprietors for the territorial privileges in the charter with the privity, assent and guaranty of the king, who could not profit from a rupture between him and the proprietors, and ought not therefore to be injured.

But what if the king had not been an immediate party? Surely his succession to the rights of the company brought with it a succession to their engagements respecting territory; unless James I. as king of England, was authorized to violate, in spoliation of his own subjects, that rule of natural law under the influence of which his Prussian majesty bound himself, upon obtaining Silesia, to be answerable to the British king for encumbrances imposed on that country by the Empress of Hungary in his favour.

It is a warrantable corollary from the inability of the proprietors to mutilate the limits of the charter of 1609, that the king standing in their place was alike incapable. This reasoning is not impeached by the divisions which the chartered limits of Virginia have undergone. They were made at periods when the people could not feel an interest in opposing them; when extreme loyalty was the highest virtue; when they were weak. The quotation of their submission in this instance, as an evidence of their consciousness of the king's right, would be somewhat unnatural; since it would suppose, that other men in the same circumstances would probably have acted otherwise.

The objections springing from the proclamation and Quebec statute will be discussed hereafter.

That the king of England thought himself bound to consider the colony of Virginia as possessing the limits of the charter of 1609, except in those cases in which it had been abridged before 1669, appears from the charter of 10th October, 1676. There the colony of Virginia is mentioned in general terms without definite

limits. To confine it to the country then settled, would be inconsistent with its professed design of encouraging the plantation, and would exclude nine tenths of the present inhabitants. Not to confine it thereto, would demonstrate that Virginia was believed by Charles II. to comprehend some vacant land, and consequently that she must hold all the vacant land within the charter of 1609; since a single foot could not be demanded through any other channel. Long ago would the people themselves have required some determinate limits, had they not imagined that the charter of 1609 described them. So far too has the king of England been from marking out the boundaries of Virginia in the charter of 1609, or in any instructions to his governours, that he has by various acts corroborated our principle, that after the extinction of the charter they remained the same as before. For near thirty years has the governour of Virginia, acting under his authority and with his knowledge, granted lands on the west side of the Alleghany Mountains. In 1748–9 Sir William Gooch, governour of Virginia, was instructed to grant to the Ohio company lands far westward of the Alleghany Mountains, but still as the instruction and the letter enclosing it says, "On "the Ohio within his majesty's colony of Virginia." In 1753, an act was passed by the assembly of Virginia for the encouragement of settlers on the waters of the Mississippi. To this act the royal assent was given. In 1754, an act was passed by the same legislature for a similar purpose, in which Virginia is declared to possess lands on and near the waters of Mississippi. A very large sum of money has been levied upon the people of Virginia for the defence of that country. All this has been done with the knowledge and consent of the British king. In the year the governour and council of Virginia granted a tract of land at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi bounding upon both rivers. In 1754, Mr. Dinwiddie, governour of Virginia, promised, by his proclamation, a bounty of

200,000 acres of land on the western waters to the officers of the first Virginia regiment. The many land warrants issued by Lord Dunmore, governour of Virginia, were directed to be located on the lands lying on the western waters. In 1773, courts were holden beyond the Alleghany Mountains under the authority and particular direction of the governour of Virginia. The general observations applied to Virginia are applicable to the two Carolinas.

Of Georgia it may be said, that the proclamation of 1763 revived its chartered limits by annexing the lands between the Alatamaha and St. Mary's river to that province; for at the date of that edict a considerable part of the lands northward of Alatamaha was vacant; and to suppose that by Georgia was meant that territory alone which had been granted to individuals, would annex the country south of Alatamaha, and shut out the vacant part lying on the north side of that river.

But as no reasonable solution could be given of so whimsical an arrangement of territory, we may conclude, that the vacant land on the north of Alatamaha was comprised in the term of Georgia. If so, since Georgia could claim vacant land only by virtue of the deed to the trustees, and that deed must have conveyed full limits, or nothing, it follows, that its territorial rights were restored, if they were affected by the surrender. But it has been already seen in what predicament the trustees stood. They were, what their title imports, mere trustees for the benefit of the province. Strangely then would it sound, that upon the refusal of those benevolent men, who had no personal interest in the trust, to persevere in fostering this infant nation, it must lose every thing, or in other words, hang on the pleasure of the king for a restitution of former rights.

Answer to third part of second objection. New York derives its claim from the Five Nations, insisting, 1st. That the king of England was lord of their soil.

2d. That being so, he transferred his seignory to that then province. The Five Nations (Iroquois, or Six Nations) had from ancient days put themselves and their lands under the protection of Great Britain. The Duke de Mirepoix, in his memorial of the 14th May, 1755, to the ministry of London, denies that the lands of the Five Nations became vested in his Britannick majesty by the deeds; but the answer returned by that ministry on the 7th June, in the same year, contends, that the 15th article in the treaty of Utrecht subjects the Five Nations to the dominion of Great Britain. That such subjection according to the genuine interpretation of treaties, relates to the country as well as to the person; and that France is precluded from altercating these points with Great Britain, because she has once acknowledged their propriety. It will not therefore be insisted, that the territory of the Five Nations belongs to the ancient and just limits of Canada, as the foregoing assertions were urged to confront a pretension of France to this effect; nor will it be denied, that the king of Great Britain was, with respect to his subjects, at least lord of the soil of the Iroquois, by being their protector.

New York maintains, in the second place, that its legislative and executive proceedings from

to proves that this very Iroquois territory has been supported by its blood and treasure; that this circumstance does of itself create an equitable title, which has ripened into an indefeasible one, by Great Britain having always treated the country of the Iroquois and their tributaries up to the forty-fifth degree of northern latitude as transferred from itself to the government of New York. See documents to be furnished by the delegates of New York.

Answer to fourth part of second objection. The prohibition announced to the governours of all the colonies, except those of Quebec, East Florida and West Florida, to grant warrants of survey, or pass

patents "for the present and until his (the British "king's) farther pleasure should be known," for any lands beyond the heads or sources of the rivers which fall into the Atlantick ocean from the west and northwest, strongly intimates an opinion, that there were lands beyond the heads of those rivers within the jurisdiction of those governours. Otherwise the prohibition would have been unnecessary. Again, by the injunction "not to grant warrants of survey, or to "pass patents for any lands whatever which, not hav- "ing been ceded to or purchased by the British king, "were reserved to the Indians, or any of them," a restriction of territory could not have been designed by a king, who granted charters to his colonies, knowing that they would interfere with the rights of the Indians, who has always considered a cession or purchase from them as a milder mean of anticipating their hostility rather than a source of title, who since the date of the proclamation has granted, through the prohibited governours themselves, large quantities of lands beyond the heads of those rivers, and whose own geographer, Emanl. Bowen, in a map delineating the British, Spanish and French dominions in America, according to the treaty of Paris and this very proclamation, has carried Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia as far as the Mississippi. The single object of these parts of the proclamation was to suspend the business of the land offices, not to curtail limits; to keep the Indians in peace, not to annihilate the territorial rights of the colonies.

But it may be charged as an inconsistency to set up the proclamation as increasing the limits of Georgia, when it thereby plainly mutilates South Carolina. The fact is, that before and after the cession of Florida, South Carolina asserted a right to the lands between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's. Georgia contradicted. The dispute was ended by this proclamation of the crown, and the title of Georgia is certainly confirmed. Could South Carolina do more than re-

present their grievance? Having done this, did she confess the authority of Great Britain to dismember her at will, because she did not fly to arms? Another reason might have induced South Carolina to relinquish its opposition with less reluctance. Peace and its incidents being the province of the chief magistrate of the British Empire, and the lands between Alatamaha and St. Mary's having been rendered neutral by an agreement with Spain, they were separated from South Carolina. Now it might have been the opinion of some that this circumstance weakened the original title. See treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Upon the prerogative of the crown to manage the affairs of peace, and the rights of France, depends the justice of limiting the American colonies to the Mississippi, by the treaty of Paris.

Answer to the fifth part of the second objection. Nor can the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, militate against Virginia. For the purchase then ratified did not imply a want of right in the king, but was solely, as was observed of the proclamation, an instrument of peace. Nor yet did he render the ceded lands exclusively his own; because the relation between him and the American royal colonies required his name in all conventions with the Indians concerning territory, even when the benefit redounded to them alone; because the franchise of pre-emption had been often asserted by some of them, and particularly by New Jersey in 172—, by an act of the legislature approved by the royal governour; and because, in the exercise of that franchise, the wealth of the colony, within which the purchased lands lay, was commonly expended. It is true that Virginia, in 1769, asked permission to purchase a more extensive boundary: but the causes were that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who had the absolute guidance of the Indian councils, could be conciliated only through the medium of the crown; and the British governour would have withholden his assent to any vote levying money for the purpose

of such a purchase, without the approbation of his master.

Answer to the sixth part of the second objection. The Quebec act was one of the multiplied causes of our opposition, and finally of the revolution. Even if it had been designed to abridge the boundaries of the colonies, the right of the British Parliament to do so must be denied upon the grounds already shown. But the provision that nothing therein contained relative to the province of Quebec should in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colony, destroys its operation with regard to those which are now required by us. Thus have we laid open the grounds of our claims to the boundaries specified in the instructions to Mr. J. Adams.

The second point, to wit, that the United States have succeeded as independent sovereignties to the territorial rights of the colonies.

The states claiming vacant lands before the revolution were, 1. Connecticut, a government belonging to the governour and company. 2. Pennsylvania, a government belonging to a few individuals. 3. Massachusetts, possessing an express charter as a royal government; and 4. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, which were originally proprietary governments, and afterwards became royal, but received no special charters as such.

1. Charles II. relinquishes, in his charter to Connecticut, all title to the lands therein described. Grants did not issue in his name, nor did escheats fall to him as lord paramount. The extinction therefore of the British jurisdiction in Connecticut cannot vest in the king of England a territorial right which he never enjoyed before, but must strip him of every possible authority in that state.

2. We affirm, without repeating the proofs, that the state of Pennsylvania retains its provincial limits. At the revolution one-fourth of the ungranted soil was the property of Mr. J. Penn, and three-fourths of W. Penn.

Since that era the whole has been seized into the hands of the state. Mr. J. Penn being a citizen of Pennsylvania, the king of Great Britain would grossly intrude on the sovereignty of the state were he to interest himself in the restitution of his share. Prudential and equitable considerations ought always to curb licentious invasions of private right; but in the breast of the legislature resides the application of the property within its jurisdiction. An injured citizen must acquiesce in the dispensations of the sovereign authority, or seek redress from remonstrances, or the last expedient of oppressed freemen. Mr. W. Penn was a British subject at the revolution, has continued to be so to this day, and is therefore an alien. His prince may advocate his interest without an infringement of decorum, and will probably be strenuous in his behalf. He will plead that alienage produced by the severance of an empire differs from both [birth] under a foreign allegiance. It will not be denied, that at the time of acquiring his landed rights he was not an alien. But the revolution has placed him in an opposite predicament. As he was then a friend, so he is now an enemy; and upon the restoration of peace, no other relation will subsist between the state of Pennsylvania and him, than what might have subsisted between that state and a subject of Russia. Since therefore he must share at the end of the war the disability to which aliens are liable upon principles of general as well as English law, as to the holding of immoveable property; since during the war it would be dangerous to tolerate remittances of its profit, specifick restitution is untenable upon any ground. Nor can compensation be solicited, although it should be absurdly thought that Pennsylvania is indebted to Great Britian for favours. Has not England set us an example in this business? While she possessed territory on the coast of France, within which it was lawful for French subjects to acquire and hold lands upon the same terms with the English, was it not her habit to

wrest them from the former immediately upon a declaration of war against their prince? Did she make compensations? It is remarkable too that the concessions of Mr. Penn, the original grantee to the province, allot to settlers nine-tenths of the lands within the limits of the charter. Soon should we behold a new British colony composed of the choicest tools of tyranny emerge in the very bosom of Pennsylvania, were Mr. W. Penn permitted to grant the vacant country. And shall we reward him because we unnerve his faculty of doing harm?

3. At this stage of our inquiry we take for granted, that the king of Great Britain could not rightfully alter the limits assigned to Massachusetts in its new charter. Perhaps, however, it may be questioned whether Massachusetts can with propriety bottom its claims as an independent sovereignty upon a charter granted to it as a dependent colony. The charter appropriated to Massachusetts, as a society, certain limits. Let the supreme power be modified as it may, as the society remains the same, so do its rights. The argument of the objection extended one step farther implies that the royal patents for land granted to individuals can convey no title at this day. What is the effect of this doctrine, but that a people must groan under every tyranny or lose every privilege? All the lands in this colony were holden of the king in free and common soccage, the well known tenure in Great Britain; and grants to individuals ran in his name. In other words he was lord paramount. In tracing the consequences of this paramountship, analogy will justify us in pursuing as the prototype the paramountship of Great Britain. The king is lord paramount there, merely because he is king. For even the ancient barons, with their numerous vassals and formidable force, never affected this character. Accordingly, if at any time during or since the vigour of the feudal system, the immediate tenant of a baron had aliened lands to an alien, they were forfeitable to the king. The same was and is the

doctrine where he committed treason. These forfeitures could not be founded on a defect of heritable blood, because it would commence in the life of the ailen or traitor, and because such a defect would restore the lands to the immediate lord of whom they were holden. But the forfeiture hath always devolved on the king, whose office it was as chief magistrate to guard against the residence of persons disaffected as aliens generally are, and as traitors ever are, to the publick good. That the qualities of king and lord paramount are inseparable appears from these facts: 1st. A king of Great Britain upon his accession to the throne receives no special investiture of power as lord paramount, but exercises it as a derivative from that of chief magistrate. 2d. The coronation oath relates to the functions of the lord paramount; but the sanction from religion for the due discharge of them is comprehended in that for the faithful administration of the government. 3d. Upon the abdication of James Second the throne was declared vacant; and neither his successor nor the people imagined it to be necessary to tear the paramountship from him by express words. Hence it follows that he who ceases to be a king ceases to be lord paramount. Again, in dealing out the lands of the kingdom, the British nation have conducted themselves with respect to the king as a bare trustee for publick benefit. When William Third was squandering upon his minion the Duke of Portland profuse grants of land the Parliament interposed and put a stop to them. Hence it also follows, that if George Third should become incapable of being their trustee, he would be also disqualified as lord paramount. If analogy be a faithful guide on this occasion, the inference is clear that as George Third was obeyed in Massachusetts as king of Massachusetts, not as king of Great Britain, and has ceased to be its chief magistrate, and in the nature of the thing cannot be its trustee, he is also extinct as lord paramount. For the justness of the analogy we appeal to that clause in the new charter of Massachusetts which

grants to its colonists the immunities of British subjects. We defy those who shall undertake to show that the charter placed the rights of British-American subjects with regard to the paramountship, upon a different footing from those of their fellow subjects of Great Britain; and we venture to pronounce the parallelism of the cases from the identity of the tenure. We may here add another inference, that as the paramountship was an indissoluble concomitant of the chief magistracy, and the state of Massachusetts succeeds to those powers which the British king formerly exercised as king of that then colony, that state does also succeed to the paramountship.

4th. The last division of the second point requires for its proof nothing more than a recapitulation of what has been already shown, to wit, that the proprietors could not separate the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; that the king upon the resumption of their charters succeeded to the obligations of the proprietors, not only from the nature of the contract with the people, but from his own acts and those of his governours; that these colonies became thereby royal governments standing in the same rank with Massachusetts; that consequently the king of Great Britain was lord paramount of these colonies by being the chief magistrate of each of them; and that this chief magistracy, having fallen to them, carries with it the paramountship. Upon the whole, a decisive objection exists against the mutilation of the charters running to the Mississippi according to the treaty of Paris, namely, that the principal by which they would be limited to the distance of a mile only from the river would justify mutilations to any extent.

The third point. But if the vacant lands cannot be demanded upon the titles of individual states, they are to be deemed to have been the property of his Britannick majesty, as sovereign of the thirteen colonies immediately before the revolution, and to be devolved

upon the United States collectively taken. In agitating the case of these lands under this head, his Britannick majesty will be very forward in asserting that he was seized of them; so that proof will be superfluous. The character in which he was so seized was that of king of the thirteen colonies collectively taken. Being stript of this character, its rights descended to the United States for the following reasons: 1. The United States are to be considered in many respects as one undivided independent nation, inheriting those rights which the king of Great Britain enjoyed as not appertaining to any one particular state, while he was what they are now, the superintending governour of the whole. 2. The king of Great Britain has been dethroned as king of the United States by the joint efforts of the whole. 3. The very country in question hath been conquered through the means of the common labours of the United States.

What has heretofore been observed regards only the title of the United States, There are other considerations deserving attention. Should Great Britain retain that portion of the United States which borders on the Mississippi, the neighbourhood of her possessions will be imminently dangerous to our peace. Should she at the same time retain Canada and West Florida, or even Canada alone, by applying herself to the settlement of that country and pushing on her trade there with vigour, a new nursery for her marine will speedily be established.

From a full confidence that the western territory now contended for lay within the United States, the British posts therein have been reduced by our citizens, and American government is now exercised within the same; large bounties of land have been promised to the army; and we have relied on it as an important fund for discharging the debts incurred during the war. For a considerable distance beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and particularly on the Ohio, American citizens are actually settled at this day. By the

surrender therefore of the western territory to Great Britain, a large number of fencible men, men too who have not been behind any of their fellow citizens in the struggle for liberty, would be thrown back within her power.

(Here follow some observations relative to the guaranty of France by the treaty of alliance, and the claims that may be set up by Spain. It then goes on:)*

There are other objects that will undoubtedly occur in the course of negotiation.

The confiscation of the property of those who preferred an adherence to the old empire rather than to follow the fortunes of the new, was founded on those principles which have been discussed. The confiscation of the property of those who have committed treason against the United States, and are since become British subjects, has a foundation in the institutes of forfeiture in the British criminal code. Should restitution be urged in either of these cases, in defiance of the support which the measures of America derive from similar practices in England, it will be proper to represent the impossibility of making specifick restitution of the personal property; the various transfers which the real has undergone from individual to individual, the great value of which the citizens of these states have, contrary to the laws of war, been despoiled by the enemy; the still greater losses whch they have sustained from their wanton havock; the burdens which the war will leave behind it; and the share which the claimants have borne in this spoliation and havock, and by the former of which they have enriched themselves far beyond their losses.

Of absentees from their country there are three classes. 1. Those who left it before the declaration of independence. 2. Those who left it after having become citizens. And 3. Those who were expelled. It must be readily seen how dishonourable and trouble-

* So in the original record.

some a stipulation for their return would be to the governments which they have deserted; how obnoxious the persons answering to this description would be to the people at large, and especially such as have suffered from their outrages; and how much the more this stipulation is to be dreaded, as none but those who are totally devoid of both honour and sensibility would avail themselves of a privilege which would expose them to the indignation and resentments which they had provoked. Nor is it unworthy the circumspection of his most Christian Majesty to reflect, whether the restoration of those persons may not produce an unequal competition with his subjects in trade; many among them, besides the advantage which they possess from the knowledge of our language, having accurately informed themselves of the nature of our commerce from actual experience.

When the Secretary had read to the end of the following clause.

"Thirdly, that if the vacant lands cannot be demanded upon the preceding grounds, that is upon the titles of individual States, they are to be deemed to have been the property of his Britannic Majesty immediately before the Revolution and to be now devolved upon the United States, collectively taken" (see the State of Facts & Observations, book A, p. 16, *ante*, p. 116): he was interrupted by Mr Bland, who moved, and was seconded by Mr Lee, that the clause be expunged. This brought on a long debate, in which many members spoke. The members of those States whose boundaries were fixed and determined supported the clause, those members whose States claimed territory to the Mississippi, or whose eastern boundary was undefined, opposed it. Mr Madison observed that the clause was imported for the purpose of reconciling all the States to the report, that though he was satisfied there was no solid foundation in the argument, yet he saw plainly if the clause was struck

out sundry States would object to the rest of the report & therefore he should be for its standing. But he thought it improper that any vote should be taken.

Mr Bland insisted on a vote & called for the yeas & nays. Hereupon it was observed that the whole debate was out of order; that the report was reading for information not for debate; that the interruption & motion were improper and that no question could be taken until the whole was read through. To this it was answered that the objection should have been made sooner. To put an end to the debate an adjournment was called for and agreed to.

Tuesday, August 20th

The State of Facts and Observations was called for and read through.

And the report of the Comtt being amended to read: That the facts and observations reported by the Comtt be referred to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to be by him digested completed and transmitted to the ministers plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace for their information and use. Motion was made by Mr Lee, seconded by Mr Bland, to amend it further by inserting, after the word committee, "except the following passage" 3 That if the vacant lands as before recited & except the following passage viz. "But if the vacant lands &c.," to "the common labours of the United States" inclusive (see Facts and Observations).

Mr Lee supported the motion by observing, that the supposition was groundless and the reasoning upon it fallacious; that the claim to the western territory rested solely on the titles of individual states. That Congress had no authority but what it derived from the States. The States individually were sovereign and independent, and upon them alone devolved the rights of the Crown within their respective territories. Could the sovereignty of the Crown of G. B. devolve

on the U. S. in Congress assembled, before such an assembly existed? What authority is there for that supposition; where is the sovereignty of the United States derived? Is it in the Confederation? Is it in the Treaty of Alliance? Does it really exist? Shall we put an argument in the mouths of our Ministers which they may use to their own advantage. It is well known that one of our Ministers is interested in the decision, having a Claim to some of the lands in question. That one of the Ministers of our Ally is likewise interested. If our Claim is supported solely on the titles of the States, they will be cut off from their intentions; if on the supposition that the rights of the Crown devolve on the United States collectively taken, their plea will be strengthened.

Mr Witherspoon, wished to have a question and the opinion of Congress without any further debate. The reasoning in the facts and observations went to this, that the Ministers in supporting our Claims to the Western territory, should first urge the titles of the several States. But if they failed in this they were then to urge the argument in the Clauses now excepted against. Whereas the spirit of the amendments was that if our Claims could not be supported on the former ground they were to be relinquished & given up.

Mr Lee replied that the amendment was to take away an argument which our Ministers might use to their own advantage an argument which was groundless and fallacious; he called upon any gentleman to shew what foundation there was for it. None had attempted this. The reason was because it was not in their power. The Ministers ought to rely on solid argument This was to be found only in the titles of the States. If they were confined to these they would urge them with force, and he had no doubt they would prevail.

Mr Witherspoon said if there was any doubt that our Ministers would be unfaithful, let them be changed.

If Mr Franklin, whom the gentleman alluded to, was interested, let him move for his recal, he would second him. The facts and observations, as they now stood, required that the Ministers should in the first place urge the titles of the several States; if these prevailed the end was obtained, and the argument in question would not be brought forward. But if arguments drawn from old Charters, Charters granted at a time when the extent and limits of this country were without Charters and Titles interfering one with another whose limits were so extravagant that it was thought proper to curtail them in a former treaty, if arguments from this source should be found to have no weight with the mediating powers & other powers in Europe, and this he believed would be the case, would any Gentleman wish to preclude our ministers from using an argument which would have weight, an argument drawn from general security, the force of which had been admitted in former treaties, and would be admitted by every disinterested power of Europe. The several States were known to the powers of Europe only as one nation under the stile and title of the United States. This nation was known to be settled along the Coasts to a certain extent; if any European power was admitted to establish colonies or settlements behind them, what security could they have for the enjoyment of peace? What a source of future wars! Was not this the principal argument urged by G. B. against France at the breaking out of the last war? Whether the uncultivated wilderness on the frontiers should belong to one state or another was a matter of little concern to the European powers. The only argument that would weigh with them was whether it was necessary for the security of the United States that other nations should be excluded from that country, and particularly G. B., the enemy of these States. He should therefore be against the amendment.

Sundry other gentlemen spoke and the amendment

being insisted on and notice given by Mr Bland that he meant to call the yeas and nays, which would bring the whole of the facts and observations upon the journals, by which means Congress would be under the necessity either of resisting the whole or of amending & making them an act of Congress, so that they would go as instructions and not merely as information, which was the thing intended; a motion was therefore made that the report be committed. And the motion for commitment being seconded, and having by the rules of the house a preference, was put and carried in the affirmative.

The Comtt chosen were Mr Rutledge, Mr Duane, Mr Witherspoon, Mr Howell & Mr ———.

Tuesday, August 27th

The Comtt of the week, viz.: Mr Gilman, Mr Clark & Mr Huntington having recd a petition signed by a number of inhabitants of a tract of Country called Kentuckey reported that it should be read & filed.

The reading was first called for, and the purport of the petition was to state that the petitioners had, at the risk of their lives, settled a tract of country westward of the Allegheny Mountains on the waters falling into the Ohio, that the State of Virginia had lately granted large tracts of land within that district without any condition of settlements, that she had undertaken to form them into Counties and claimed jurisdiction there, that being removed above 800 miles from the seat of Government, it could not be exercised with justice & energy; that they were in danger of losing their rights, if they must go to Richmond where the Supreme Court sat & there contend with the last Grantees; that they have taken an Oath of Allegiance & considered themselves subjects of the United States & not of Virginia, that the Charter under which Virginia claimed that Country, had been disolved; that in consequence of the dissolution the Country belonged

to the Crown of G. Britain & that by the revolution the rights of the Crown was devolved on the United States, and therefore praying Congress to erect them into a separate and independent State and admit them into the federal Union.

M^r^ LEE was surprized that the Com^tt^ had not explained in their report the nature of the petition, as they ought to have done, as that might have prevented its being read. The countenancing such petitions was an insult to the State of Virginia. As the petition had been read, the only thing now to be done was to refer it to the State of Virginia. The petitioners were subjects of that State, if they suffered grievances they should apply to the legislature of that State for redress, and not to Congress. What right had Congress to interfere? that the rights of the Crown devolved upon Congress was a groundless, an extravagant & idle supposition. Could they devolve on Congress before it had an existence? Congress derived its power from the Confederation, it had no right but what the Confederation gave it. The United States individually were in existence before Congress was. They were sovereign free and independent & retained all the rights of sovereign free and independent states, except what they voluntarily gave to Congress by the Confederation. That the rights of the Crown to the vacant Lands within the bounds of any state could not devolve upon Congress but on the individual state within the bounds of which the lands lay.

M^r^ MADISON supported the propriety of referring the paper to the legislature of Virginia. The State he said had already taken measures to redress some of the grievances complained of. The legislature had divided the Country into Counties, they had established Courts, appointed judges, and brought justice to the doors of the petitioners. He was sensible that they were far removed from the seat of Government; that the time would come when the people in that Country must be divided into separate jurisdictions. The Con-

stitution of the State had provided for that event; but the Legislature of Virginia & not Congress were to judge when that would be proper. The dissolution of the Charter did not break the social Compact among the people. The Charter was an agreement between the King, the proprietors, and the people. Though the King, by the dissolution of the Charter, might succeed to the rights of the proprietors, the rights of the people remained entire, and the King had no right to cut them into separate Governments without their consent. He doubted whether the present petition expressed the sentiments of the people in that district; he apprehended there were few if any of the natives of Virginia among the number of the petitioners. That the paper read should be referred to the Legislature of Virginia that they might enquire into the facts and determine what was proper to be done. As to the supposition that the right of the Crown devolved on the U. S. it was so extravagant that it could not enter into the thoᵗˢ of any man. If the right of soil devolved why not the right to the quit rents and confiscated estates.

Mʳ Williamson observed that the petition involved a question of a very serious nature; that no doubt a time would come when it would be discussed: that whenever it was discussed it would be attended with most serious consèquences, and he apprehended the sword alone would decide. He wished it might be put off a long time, & not revived in our time, nor in the time of our children or their grand children.

Mʳ McKean, was sensible it was a question of a very serious nature—that it must be discussed. He was not for putting off the discussion to so distant a period. He was not for leaving it to posterity. He was willing to face it with all its consequences, and hoped it would be decided before the present war was concluded. If the people of Kentuckey have taken an Oath of Allegiance to the U. S., he will take them by the hand. He is not afraid of Virginia. He hopes no

State in the union will ever be so great as to give laws to all the rest, nor that any will be suffered to acquire so much power that the others cannot controul it.

Mr Clark wants to be informed more particularly respecting the conduct and views of Virginia with regard to that western country, & what the meaning of the provision is of the Constitution of the State. He understands that they have it in contemplation to form the western country into distinct subordinate governments & to send out lieutenant governors to rule them. This will be going on the plan of Great Britain with regard to her former Colonies, & must bring on another revolution, which will be attended with convulsions & break the peace of the union. If he is rightly informed, that plan is already in part adopted and is one of the grievances complained of by the people and the foundation of the present petition. He is apt to be jealous, but he thinks it right to be jealous in such a case as this. He wishes for full information.

Mr Howell observed that the right to the western Country was vested in the Crown of Great B. That by the proclamation of 1763 the King had prohibited his Governors from granting lands beyond the heads of the waters falling into the Atlantic; that by that proclamation reserved to himself the right of *pre-emption;* that the Crown of England claimed and had always exercised the right of setting off new governments—that both these rights devolved on the United States. Congress had acted upon the former when they passed the resolution recommending it to the states who claimed the western Country, not to make any grants of unappropriated lands. *See Oct.* 30, 1779, in opposition to which the State of Virginia made grants of which the present petitioners now complain and the 11th Article of the Confederation provides for the exercise of the latter right by the words "no Colony shall be admitted into the union until such admission be agreed to by nine States."

This is not to be confined to Colonies then or now in existence, but extends to any future Colony that may at any time be established or formed.

Mr WITHERSPOON began by observing that one of the gentlemen from Virginia said it could not enter into the thoughts of any man that the rights of the Crown devolved on the United States. He supposed he intended that only as a figure in rhetorick, not as an assertion that would be admitted. It certainly could enter into the thoughts of men and had actually entered into his thoughts, and it had entered the thoughts of the petitioners and into the thoughts of very many sensible men at the beginning of the present Controversy. The western uncultivated and unappropriated lands belonging to the Crown were considered and spoken of early in the controversy as fund for discharging the debts that might be contracted in the war by the U. S. It would appear a strange whim if a sentiment which occupied and engrossed the minds not only of speculative, but of illiterate men and of the bulk of the inhabitants of many of the States had not some solid foundation to rest on. For his part he thought it founded on truth, on justice, on the nature of things, and was warranted by the Laws of Society. This controversy was begun and the war was carried on by the united and joint efforts of the thirteen States. By their joint exertions and not by those of any one State the dominion of Great Britain was broken, and consequently the rights claimed and exercised by the crown devolved on all, and not any individual State. Why should one State reap more advantage than another. He admitted the consequence that not only the right of the unappropriated soil but also of the quit-rents and confiscated estates devolved on the U. S. As to the quit-rents it seemed to be the general opinion that they should be no longer collected, but that each man should enjoy the portion of land he was possessed of, clear of all incumbrance of quit-rents, and therefore

they were not made an object with respect to confiscated estates ; they were too inconsiderable to excite attention. Had a major part, or even one-half of any State joined the enemy, and their estates thereby became confiscated, he apprehended it would have been a matter of serious discussion whether they should belong to the U. S. or be appropriated to the sole benefit of the other half of the Citizens of the State.

With regard to the powers of Congress, or of the U. S. collectively taken, they could not be exactly defined in the articles of Confederation. Cases would arise for which no previous provision could be made. These came under and were decided by the great law of necessity, which was admitted as a law of nations. It might happen that a State would grow so powerful and so ambitious as to be dangerous to the other States in the union. In such a case the law of necessity and of self-preservation might compel the others, by a sovereign act of authority, to abridge the power of that State, and even to divide it into two or more distinct and independent States. He would not undertake to say that the petitioners were within or without the bounds of Virginia, or that it would be proper or improper to grant the prayer of the petitioners ; but he saw no impropriety in letting the petition remain on the files of Congress, and should therefore vote in favor of that question.

Mr Williamson insisted there was nothing before the House in which a question could properly be taken ; that the bulk of the names to the petition which had been read appeared to be signed by one or two hands ; they might be forged. No body could say that the signers or the persons whose names were written lived on the lands in question, that therefore the paper should be dismissed. This brought on a new debate, and at last an adjournment was called for and agreed to.

Wednesday, August 28th.

A flag-ship having arrived at Philadelphia with prisoners from *Fortune* Prison in England, the Captain represented to the agent of marine that on the passage the prisoners had compelled him to furnish them with a larger allowance of provisions than the rules of the victualing office and his instructions warranted, and therefore he demanded to be paid for the extra allowance. The agent of marine having communicated this matter to Congress and requested instructions, his letter was referred to a Com^tt^ consisting of M^r^ DUANE, M^r^ HOWELL & M^r^ IZARD, who reported this morning a state of facts as it appeared to them, and recommended that the accounts of the Captain be referred to the agent of marine for liquidation and payment. It was urged on the part of the Com^tt^ the honor of the nation was concerned; that the Captain, relying on the security of a flag and the honor of the American prisoners, had entered into a contract with Government to carry the prisoners to America that in making his Contract he relied on furnishing them during the voyage with a certain quantity of provisions, daily, the same that was allowed to British soldiers on board of transports; that he had been compelled to give more, and that the loss would fall upon him; that he might have complained of the violation of the flag and demanded a reparation, which could not have been denied; but that he contented himself with only demanding pay for the extra allowance, & that this ought to be granted.

M^r^ RUTLEDGE thought the honor of the nation no way concerned. What mighty stain would it be on the honor of the nation that a number of men who had been for many months confined in prison and half starved, which was the case, should, when they had the power and when by a *freer* air & more exercise they found their appetite restored, compel the Captain to increase their allowance of provisions. He did not

see the propriety of paying money when the enemy refused to settle with us and pay what they owed for the maintenance of their prisoners in our hands. Besides it should be considered that many of those who were now returned were militia of North & South Carolina, & had been, contrary to faith and justice, sent to England and kept confined, when by the Cartel settled between Greene and Cornwallis they ought to have been at liberty and in their own country. That in strict justice the enemy ought to return them entirely at their own expense. But he did not desire this. He was willing that justice, strict justice should be done. He wanted no favours, he would receive none from the enemy. He was for accounting with the enemy not only for the extra allowance but for the whole quantity of provisions issued to the prisoners during the voyage. For this purpose he had no objection against granting the captain a Certificate for the quantity of provisions served out to our people on the voyage, and that the amount should be charged to us and admitted in the general settlement; but he was against paying any money until the general account was settled. Several other members spoke on the occasion, and at last the report was recommitted.

The matter being over, M^r^ SMITH arose and begged leave to call the attention of the house to a clause in the Ceremonial established with regard to foreign ministers. He meant that which regulated the visits between members of Congress and foreign ministers. He found it was differently understood by different members; some thought it was the duty of the minister to make the first visit, and that they were bound not to pay him a visit or accept his invitations to dinner until they had received his visit. Others did not consider themselves so bound. Hence arose a distinction among the members; while some held an intercourse with the minister and were constantly seen at his table & entertainments, others where wholly secluded. For his part he thought the minister's entertainments

and invitations were too frequent and that it would comport more with the dignity of Congress if the members were seldomer seen at his table. But he saw no reason why one should not be there as well as another & that there should be one rule of conduct for all. He therefore desired the sense of the house on the clause.

Mr Lee thought it highly proper to establish a rule. The republic of Venice had a law by which every member of the Senate was prohibited from dining with or being entertained by a foreign minister. This was to prevent all suspicion of being under undue influence. He did not mean that Congress should adopt such a rule. It was proper that that the etiquette of visits should be settled.

The Ceremonial being read it appeared that the clause had a reference only to the visits of ceremony paid after the first public audience of a minister.

Several members treated the matter as trifling, & not deserving further attention.

Mr Bland thought a Ceremonial should be settled that members might know their place; for this purpose he would move that a Committee be appointed.

Mr Lee seconded his motion. Gentlemen might despise etiquette as they pleased; but it was so important as to be attended with very serious consequences. Every civilized nation had found it necessary to settle it. We should not affect to be wiser than all the world.

Mr McKean observed that we might soon expect more ministers from foreign Courts, it was therefore the more necessary to settle the line of conduct to be observed toward each of them separately and to whom a preference should be given when together.

Mr Williamson made a florid harangue on the occasion and mentioned the house contrived with several doors and the round table at Aix-la-Chapelle where the ministers of several powers met to settle the peace of Europe.

Mr Clark, composing his countenance to more than usual gravity, to give more poignancy to his accustomed sarcasms, wondered that gentlemen should call in question the importance of the subject or oppose the appointment of a Comtt. He wanted to see the report & should therefore vote for a Comtt.

After many learned arguments and fine speeches it was resolved, That a Comtt be appointed to revise the Ceremonial respecting foreign ministers and to report the proper alterations and additions to be made thereto.

The members chosen: Mr Lee, Mr Izard & Mr Williamson.

September 16th.

A Letter having been recd on the 11th from H. Laurens dated at Amsterdam the 30th May last, wherein he gives an account of his imprisonment and sufferings in the Tower of London, of his release and of the steps leading to it, and of his subsequent conduct; of his informing Doct Franklin from Ostend that he declined acting as one of the Commissioners for negotiating a peace, and of his intention to return to America after having visited his relatives in the south of France—a motion was made by Mr Rutledge that Congress should come to a Resolution not to accept his resignation. This was referred to a Comtt consisting of Mr Duane, Mr Madison and Mr Rutledge, who next morning,

September 17th,

reported two resolutions which were immediately read and agreed to by Congress. The first was to this effect, that Mr Laurens be informed that the reasons which induced Congress to appoint him one of their ministers for negotiating a peace still subsist, and therefore Congress cannot dispense with his services. And the other was to this effect, that the min-

isters of the United States for negotiating a peace be instructed, each of them, upon receiving information of the time and place of opening the negotiations, immediately to give notice thereof to the rest in Europe in order that they may attend.

September 19th.

The house having under consideration the report of a Committee respecting the Commissioners or allowance to be granted to the late Jos. Trumbull, Com^ry^ Gen^l^ for his services.

M^r^ Madison arose and informed the house that since the passing the resolutions of the 17th, he had come to the knowledge of a fact, which he wished to lay before Congress and on which he meant to ground a motion; and as it did not admit of delay, the vessel that would carry those resolutions being on the point of sailing he wished the present business might be postponed and accordingly made a motion to that effect. This being agreed to, he then proceeded to inform Congress that he had a great respect for the character of M^r^ Laurens and entertained a high opinion of his abilities and integrity, and had therefore given his hearty concurrence and assent to the resolutions which passed on the 17th. But that since that time he had come to the knowledge of some matters, which induced him to think it would not be proper, at least, for the present, to forward those resolutions or so much of them as respected M^r^ Laurens. He would now state those matters to Congress, that they might judge. He had, he said, in his hand a pamphlet printed in London entitled "Parliamentary Register," and containing an account of the debates in the House of Commons from the month of Nov. 1781, to to the latter end of Jan^ry^, 1782, among which were debates on a petition to that house from H. Laurens, a prisoner in the Tower, and that the petition was printed at full length. He then read the debates and the pe-

tition; and then observed that though the evidence was not such as would, in a Court of Law, be sufficient to prove that Mr. Laurens had signed and presented such a petition, yet coming from such authority and with such concurring circumstances, it was sufficient to raise doubts in this house, and a strong suspicion that it was genuine. That if Mr Laurens did actually sign and present such a petition; he had thereby wounded the honor and dignity of the United States in such a manner that he was no longer fit to be entrusted with the character of a public minister, much less to be solicited to continue his services as the negotiator of a peace. He would not undertake to say positively that the petition was genuine, though he must confess that he could not altogether withhold his belief of its authenticity. He repeated again the assurances of his respect and regard for the man, his willingness to draw a veil over this part of his conduct, and to bury it forever in oblivion, but standing in the place he did, and feeling as he did for the honor & dignity of his country, he could not, consistent with his duty, forbear to move. "That the resolution of "the 17th day of Sept., 1782, informing Mr Laurens "that his services as a minister plenipotentiary for ne- "gotiating a peace cannot be dispensed with by Con- "gress, and so much of the other resolution of the "same date as relates to Mr Laurens, be not trans- "mitted till the farther order of Congress." He would not give so much credit to the publication as thereon to ground a recall, his meaning was only to suspend the effects of a resolution, which he was convinced never would have passed had the matter now before the house been known to Congress. He confessed that if in fact the petition was not genuine a temporary injury would be done to Mr Laurens' character, and in that case, as soon as the truth should appear, no man would be readier than he should be, by every act in his power, to wipe off the stain and restore his character to its ancient splendor, and therefore would

wish that the resolutions of the 17th, as well as that which might now be passed, should remain secret. But when he considered on the other hand in what light the conduct of this Congress would be viewed by, and what effect it might have on the powers of Europe if a man was pressed to continue in such a high confidential trust and office who had prostrated the dignity of his Country, wounded its honour, and as far as in him lay denied its sovereignty and independence, all which must be admitted, if the petition is genuine, he trusted he would stand excused and that the house would agree to his motion.

He then repeated his motion, which was seconded by his colleague, Mr Jones. The motion being read from the Chair.

Mr Lee said that no sort of credit should be given to the publication; that he knew the publisher of it to be an infamous person, who would publish anything sent to him that would make his pamphlet sell, and who would ruin the character of any man for five shillings. That for his part he did not believe the petition was genuine. That it was altogether incredible that ever Mr Laurens wrote or signed such a petition. That it was known Mr Laurens was a man of sense, of firmness & of integrity. That the petition which had been read was mean in sentiment and diction, and altogether unworthy a man of sense, that it was wrote in so humiliating a stile that to suppose Mr L. to be the author of it would be to suppose him devoid of all understanding.

Mr Dyer said he could not believe it to be true. If Mr L. had ever written or signed such a petition he would certainly have taken notice of it in his letter; he would have palliated and excused the action. He would have said that in an unguarded hour when under the pressure of sufferings and reduced by sickness he was prevailed upon to set his hand to such a paper, which he is now sorry for. Nothing of this appears in his letter; no mention is

made of such a paper. He cannot think it therefore genuine.

Mr Jackson is of the same opinion. If he thought it genuine, he would be not for suspending but for recalling him, and passing a severe censure upon him.

Mr Noble Wimberley Jones believes it is not genuine, thinks it would be cruel to pass a censure, which this wd be, upon a man of such a known and established character as Mr Laurens, even if he did write it, it was not to be wondered at, considering how he was neglected and what he suffered. He should not be condemned unheard.

Mr Bland spoke against the motion, vilified the publication, said that if notice was taken of such publications no man's character would be safe; it would be easy for our enemies to publish such things of any man and to raise dissentions among us.

Mr Clymer always understood that the Parliamentary Register was a paper of considerable authority. The first publisher, Almon, was noted for his attachment to the American cause. He supposed the present publisher, who succeeded him, was actuated by the same principles. It is not to be supposed that he would ruin the character & reputation of his pamphlet by publishing a falsehood which could be so easily detected.

Mr Lee never heard that the "Parliamentary Register" was a paper of any authority. He wished the gentleman had shewn what authority it had. He knew it was an anti-ministerial publication, and supported by the minority for party purposes.

Mr Madison spoke again, professed the purity of his motives and his regard for Mr Laurens' character; urged the probability of the petition being genuine, and his readiness to make every allowance and excuse for Mr L's situation, but still persisted in the opinion that the dignity, honor, and interest of the U. S. required that Congress should agree to the motion.

The question being eagerly called for by those who were opposed to the motion,

Mr WRIGHT said it was a matter that required deliberation; it was not to be descided in so hasty a manner; that for his part he was determined to have the yeas and nays on the question when put, and he wished to have some farther time to consider the motion, and therefore moved to adjourn, which was seconded and agreed to.

The petition is as follows:

> "*The Right Honble Charles Wolfram Cornwall, Speaker of the honble the House of Commons.*
>
> "The representation and prayer of HENRY LAURENS, a native of South Carolina, some time recognized by the British Commissioners in America by the stile and title of his excellency Henry Laurens, President of Congress, now a close prisoner in the Tower of London, *most respectfully sheweth:*

"That your representer, for many years at the peril of his life and fortune, ardently laboured to preserve and strengthen the ancient friendship between Great Britain & the Colonies & that in no instance he ever excited on either side the dissentions which separated them.

"That the commencement of the present war was a subject of great grief to him, in as much as he foresaw and foretold, in letters now extant, the distresses which both countries experience at this day.

"That in the rise and progress of the war he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called Loyalists & Quietists, as well as to British prisoners of war, very ample proofs of which he can produce.

"That he was captured on the American Coast, first landed upon American ground, where he saw ex-

change of British and American prisoners in a course of negotiation, and such an exchange and enlargement upon parole are mutually and daily practiced in America.

"That he was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October, 1780, being then dangerously ill; that in the mean time he had in many respects, particularly being deprived with very little exception of the visits and consolations of his children and other relations and friends, suffered under a degree of rigor almost if not altogether unexampled in modern British history.

"That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state, and therefore your representer humbly prays your honors will condescend to take his case into consideration, and under proper conditions and restrictions grant him enlargement or such other relief as to the wisdom and benignity of your honours shall seem fitting. HENRY LAURENS.

"*Tower of London*, Dec. 1st 1789."

September 20.

The journal of yesterday and the dispatches being read, Mr MADISON arose and called the attention of the house to the subject of his motion. The objections started yesterday he observed were grounded chiefly on the want of authenticity, though something had been said of the inoffensiveness of the petition, admitting it to be genuine. He admitted that the proofs he had adduced would not be sufficient to convict a man on a trial for his life; it is possible they might not even be admitted in a court of law; but in matter of policy and in examining the propriety of continuing a person in office, they might be adduced to that house, and would without doubt have due attention paid to them. The publication contains an account of the proceeding

and debates in parliament from day to day. It is made at the time and in the place where the transaction passed, & where any misrepresentation might be easily detected. The petition is introduced by a member whose name is mentioned. Debates ensue, the substance of which is given; the speakers named; an order passed and the petition inserted, not in substance but in the very words with the address & the date of time and place, and signed with the name of the petitioner. All these circumstances carry with them such marks of authenticity as can hardly be doubted. With regard to the matter of the petition he thought it unworthy a private citizen of the United States, but coming from a Public Minister vested with so high a character who had been President of that house to whom the representatives of the King of Great Britain had paid homage, and who was then commissioned to represent the Sovereignty of these United States, it was altogether unjustifiable. It was not addressed to the Sovereign but to the Speaker and members of the House of Commons, whose authority we denied and whose usurpations had compelled us to have recourse to arms. This petition is stated not as coming from a citizen of the United States but a native of South Carolina. What is this but indirectly relinquishing the Claim of Independence which we have so solemnly declared & pledged ourselves to maintain at the risque of our lives and fortunes? A denial of his public character and almost a direct submission and return to that allegiance he had abjured in a private citizen—such a step is unwarrantable in a public minister; it is highly culpable. It is no slight matter for a public minister to deny the Sovereignty of the Country which he is appointed to represent. What then must it be in the petitioner, who had been raised to the highest rank and held the first place in the Sovereign Assembly of these U. S.? The manner in which this is acknowledged—"some time recognized by the British Com^{s} in America by the stile & title of his Exc^{y}

H. L., President of Congress"—is too mean and contemptible to deserve animadversion. Let us now examine the Arguments used to induce the house to grant the prayer of the petitioner: "Your Representor for many years at the peril of his life and fortune ardently labored to preserve and strengthen the ancient friendship between G. B. and the colonies, and in no instance ever excited on either side the dissentions which separated them." Is not this almost in direct terms condemning the measures taken by his Country to maintain and defend their rights, "in opposing which he risqued his life and fortune?" To suppose he alluded to an opposition to the measures of Britain would be to suppose him guilty of the most manifest absurdity, & to insult the house to which he most respectfully prefers his humble petition. But the two following paragraphs puts it beyond all doubt in what manner he wished to be understood. "The commencement of the present war was a subject of great grief to him, in as much as he foresaw and foretold in letters now extant the distresses which both countries experience at this day." "In the rise and progress of the War he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called loyalists and quietists as well as to British prisoners of War, very ample proofs of which he can produce." These are arguments addressed to the justice of the house to induce them on account of his merits to grant him an enlargement from his confinement. The arguments which follow, drawn from his ill state of health and sufferings in prison, are addressed to their humanity but the humility and tenor of the prayer, considering the character of the person who prefers it, deserves particular attention: "Therefore your Representer humbly prays your honors will condescend to take his case into consideration, and under proper conditions and restrictions grant him enlargement or such other relief as to the wisdom and benignity of your honors shall seem fitting." Taking it then for granted that the peti-

tion was genuine, or admitting a probability or even a possibility of its being genuine, he submitted it to the wisdom and candor of the house whether it would not be proper to suspend the forwarding the resolution of the 17th, and to agree to his motion. However if any gentleman had any doubts or thought his motion too strongly pointed against Mr Laurens, he had no objection against altering it so that the end he had in view might be attained. And therefore he would consent to vary it so as to take in both the resolutions passed on the 17th and leave Mr L's name out of the motion.

Mr J. Jones said he seconded the motion as it was made yesterday. The motion was then read from the Chair in the words in which it was yesterday expressed, whereupon

Mr Rutledge arose, and after a short exordium, in which he expressed the delicacy of his situation and his feelings from an apprehension that what he might offer on the occasion might be attributed to an attachment to Mr Laurens on account of his coming from the same State, and assured the house that his judgment was not biased by any personal attachments or local prejudices, but influenced solely by what he thought just and right, he entered on the subject, which he said he would consider in two points of view:

1. With respect to the authenticity or genuineness of the petition, he said he would shew that no regard ought to be paid to the publication, and that there were the strongest arguments to believe that the petition there quoted was not genuine.

2. But even granting that it was genuine, there was nothing contained in it to warrant the present motion.

It was, he said, well known that the "Parliamentary Register" was a party paper set on foot by those who were in opposition to the late Ministry, and calculated to support the measures of the minority. Little regard was therefore to be paid to it. Even the bringing forward this petition, and the supporting it as mentioned

in the publication, was not done with a view to serve or relieve Mr L., for they only move that it lie on the table, but solely with a design to embarrass and perplex the Ministry. Who can say that the petition was not fabricated by them for that purpose? For his part he thought it highly probable that it was. It is possible they might have induced Mr Oswald, the friend of Mr L., to concur in the measure, and he might have persuaded Mr L., in the low condition in which he was, to give his consent, or not to oppose it; but would this make it Mr L's petition? Surely no.

But suppose Mr L. actually wrote, signed, and sent in the petition as quoted. What is there contained in it which can give such mighty offence? It is true he does not say that he is a citizen of the free and independent States of America, that he ought to be considered as a prisoner of war, that they had no right to keep him confined in the tower as a State prisoner. This, he said, would be fine, high-sounding language. But he wondered whether any person here present would use it in the condition Mr L. was. He was committed to the Tower when he was dangerously ill, confined there upwards of fourteen months, deprived of visits of his relatives and friends, and even denied common sustenance. There is a servant of his now in town who declares that to his knowledge he was five days without any other victuals than one fowl. It appears that the Ministry wanted to starve him to death. Then there would have been an end of him. All this time he finds himself neglected by his Country and their servants who ought to have exerted themselves for his relief. He had applied to the British Ministry, but to no purpose. What was he to do? Was he to submit to his fate and die in prison, without making this effort to regain his freedom, and be again in the way of serving his Country? Surely no; it could not be expected. There was a prospect of obtaining relief from the House of Commons. He applies. The tenor of the petition was such as not to give offence,

and was calculated to obtain what he wanted. In this view it is proper, and warranted by former proceedings of Congress. Here he instanced the different language held by Congress with regard to the Roman Catholic Religion in the address to the people of G. Britain, and that to the inhabitants of Canada. He then proceeded to observe that the representation or petition declared that it came from H. L., who had been President of Congress; that he had laboured to strengthen and preserve the ancient friendship between G. B. and the Colonies. This, he supposed, alluded to his conduct before the Declaration of Independence, and he appealed to the recollection of Members whether Congress had not expressed themselves in still stronger terms in their petition to the King and address to the people of Great Britain. That the commencement of the war was a subject of grief to him might be very true; it was the same to many who are now firm friends to Independence. That he foresaw and foretold the distresses which both Countries experience at this day only proves that he was a better prophet than others. As to what is mentioned in the next paragraph, "that he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called loyalists and quietists," though he did not think it a matter to boast of, as he abominated the characters there described, and believed he should never have subscribed his name to such a paragraph, yet he would not therefore condemn Mr L., as he was sure that Mr L. referred to his private not to his public conduct. He had acted with him in public office, and he never saw a disposition in him to show any improper indulgence to the enemies of his Country. But as he was a man of wealth it is not improbable he might have extended acts of benevolence and charity to the persons mentioned.

Upon the whole he saw nothing criminal in the petition, nothing that would warrant Congress in passing so heavy a censure on him as the present motion carried with it. He believed him to be a man of

sense, well attached to the Liberty of his Country, and who would be very useful in a negotiation for a peace. He thought him worthy of trust, and could with great confidence commit to him the interest of his Country, and therefore would give his negative to the motion.

Mr Howell wished to be informed whether the facts mentioned in the petition were true, namely: whether he had in the beginning of the contest acted in such a manner as to endanger his life and fortune, and whether he had distinguished himself by acts of kindness to tories and prisoners. Those who came from the same State could ascertain this, and the ascertaining the truth or falsehood of what is set forth in the petition would greatly influence his judgment.

Mr Clark firmly believed that the petition was genuine. He did not think there was a member on the floor who doubted it. But it was not that which influenced him. Mr L. had been appointed to an office which he has declined to execute. He no doubt had his reasons; he may have entered into engagement with the Brit. Ministry that rendered it improper to execute the office. For his part he did not know what his reasons were, but whatever they were he was not for ramming his Commission down his throat. If he had been present he should have voted against the resolution of the 17th and would now vote for the motion.

Mr Dyer spoke long, and expressed his good opinion of Mr L.

Mr Jackson. Does not know Mr L., but has heard a good character of him. He does not believe that the petition is authentic. He thinks it very improbable.

Mr Bland spoke against the author or authors of the publication. If such pieces were attended to it would be very easy for our enemies to blast the character of the best men in America, and to sow dissentions among us. Things had been published in English

papers and pamphlets unfavorable to the character of some who were now members of Congress. But Congress did not think them worthy of notice, and he did not see why they should take any notice of this.

Mr McKean went into a large encomium on Mr L. He saw nothing criminal in the petition, nothing that affected the heart. He was inclined to believe it might be genuine. He had always considered the Parliamentary Register as a publication worthy of credit. He knew the original author was a friend to America, and that the paper was begun and undertaken at the instance of forty gentlemen opposed to the British Ministry and friends to America, and who supported it by annual subscriptions. He supposed it was still conducted under the same influence, and that it stated facts truly. But from his knowledge of Mr L. and of the high opinion he had of his integrity and abilities he thought him worthy of trust, and who would be very useful in the negotiation for peace, and therefore must vote against the motion.

Mr Williamson and Mr Lee both spoke against the publication.

Mr Rutledge animadverted with great warmth on Mr Clark's observation, "that Mr L. may have entered into engagement with the British Ministry," and in a very loud tone of voice asked, does the member know he has entered into such engagements? If he does, let him produce his proofs. He does not understand this mode of —— [illegible] character by surmises. The character of persons in high offices of trust and confidence, and especially of public ministers ought to be sacred and not trifled with in that manner. The gentleman said he did not think there was a member on the floor who doubted the genuineness of the petition. He did not understand such expressions. For his part he very much doubted—nay, he believed it was not genuine, and several others were of the same opinion.

Mr Lee and Mr Dyer again spoke in favor of Mr L. Mr Jackson thought if the motion passed that it ought to have a preamble, and therefore he moved to affix a preamble stating that *Whereas,* that it appears Mr L. presented such a petition. This brought on a new debate, or rather a conversation, & it being intimated that if the preamble was insisted on the yeas and nays would be called on the question, the preamble was withdrawn. At length the question was called, and the yeas & nays being required by Mr Wright on the question to agree to the motion.

New Hampshire,	Mr. Gilman,	Ay.	×
Massachusetts,	Mr. Osgood,	No.	No.
	Mr. Jackson,	No.	
Rhode Island,	Mr. Howell,	Ay.	×
Connecticut,	Mr. Huntington,	No.	No.
	Mr. Dyer,	No.	
New York,	Mr. Duane,	No.	No.
	Mr. L'Hommedieu,	No.	
New Jersey,	Mr. Clark,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Boudinot,	No.	
	Mr. Condict,	Ay.	
Pennsylvania,	Mr. Montgomery,	No.	Ay.
	Mr. Smith,	Ay.	
	Mr. Clymer,	Ay.	
	Mr. Atlee,	Ay.	
Delaware,	Mr. McKean,	No.	×
Maryland,	Mr. Hanson,	Ay.	Ay.
	Mr. Carroll,	Ay.	
	Mr. Wright.	Ay.	

Virginia,	Mr. Jones,	Ay.	Divided.
	Mr. Madison,	Ay.	
	Mr. Bland,	No.	
	Mr. Lee,	No.	
N. Carolina,	Mr. Williamson,	No.	×
S. Carolina,	Mr. Rutledge,	No.	No.
	Mr. Ramsay,	No.	
	Mr. Izard,	No.	
	Mr. Gervais,	No.	
	Mr. Middleton,	No.	
Georgia,	Mr. N. W. Jones,	No.	No.
	Mr. Few,	No.	

So the motion was lost.

To Robert R. Livingston.

June 4th, 1783.

Dear Sir,

I am extremely sorry to find the public must be deprived of the benefit of your experience & services at the very time when I apprehend they will be most wanted. I am the more mortified as I am persuaded from your Letter to a late Comtt appointed to confer with you, as well as from some expressions of Mr Hamilton, that you would have continued in the office had your salary been only made equal to your necessary expenses. I wish experience may not prove this to have been an ill timed parsimony. Who your successor will be I cannot divine. Wednesday next, you see, is assigned for the election, but no person is yet nominated. I rejoice in the honourable testimonial Congress have given of your ability, zeal & fidelity. I wish the next who fills the office may give as much

satisfaction and be equally deserving, but the choice must then fall on some other than those within my view who I believe would wish to succeed you.

By the resolution which precedes the vote of thanks you see I am directed to receive into my care the papers of your office until a successor can be appointed. I wished to have avoided this, and that the papers should be left in the custody of your first Under Secretary or that they should be delivered over to a Com^tt^ of Congress. The first, I apprehended, would be the most proper if it is really intended to elect a successor at the time mentioned, and the latter if that is not the case. However as the resolve only directs me to receive the papers into my care, and as I am determined to have nothing to do with the business of the office, I must beg the favour of you to order all the papers packed up, sealed with your seal and then sent to my office, where they shall lie till Congress shall otherwise dispose of them.

I wish you all happiness, &c., I am with sincere respect & esteem your most obedient & most humble servant,

CHA^s^. THOMSON.

Wednesday, June 4, 1783.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Philadelphia, 5^th^ June, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I am much flattered by your polite and friendly letter of yesterday, and it gives me the highest pleasure to think that my conduct while in office was satisfactory to Congress. I cannot think (with you) that they will find much difficulty in replacing me by some gentleman at least as well qualified to perform the functions of the office as I am, if they will heartily unite in wishing it. Perhaps their placing the papers in your

hands is one step toward it. They may & will, I hope, prevail upon you to change your determination with respect to the business of the office. I am now making out lists of the papers & books in the office & hope to be able to deliver them over to-morrow. If you should not think it more expedient to have them in the office I have hired for the public, and which I suppose the clerks will occupy till the further order of Congress, they might be usefully employed in continuing to make the copies they have began of public letters.

I am, Dear Sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most ob. Hum Servant,

R. R. Livingston.

From John Dickinson.

Philadelphia, June 12th, 1783.

Dear Sir,

It is proposed in our next message that the Assembly which meets the 23rd of August to make the following observations on the Confederation. I earnestly request your friendly observations upon—the freest & fullest alterations & corrections. The subject would not have been introduced *at this time* if the general stir about the powers of Congress did not now make a fair opening for bringing it in.

Polly & Sally join with me in Affectionate Remembrances. I am, Sir, your most obed & hble Servant,

John Dickinson.

Charles Thomson, Esquire.

[*Extract.*] "A conviction that the Articles of Union between these States were exceedingly defective induced us two years ago *most earnestly to recommend that the Confederation might be strengthened and improved.* There was reason to hope Peace would afford so much leisure that this important work might soon be accomplished. Our wishes have not

been gratified, but we are pleased to find an opinion at this time generally prevailing that some amendment of the Confederation is necessary.

"As we continue fully persuaded that the happiness of our Posterity must under Providence depend upon 'the Respect, Tranquility & Safety that are naturally attached to an extensive and *well governed Empire*,' we anxiously desire that the present disposition may be so prudently managed that instead of being fatigued with *partial* provisions, it may lead to as *perfect* an establishment of the Union as the wisdom of America can devise.

"We therefore still 'esteem ourselves indispensably bound to declare our sense' that further authorities ought to be vested in the Federal Council. The most material that occur to us are the powers of regulating & protecting Commerce, of imposing equal duties on Importations for the purpose of raising a Revenue and collecting them by officers of the appointment of Congress, of furnishing the officers of the Confederated Republic in some prescribed manner of proceeding, of adjusting the quotas of all charges & expenses by an equitable and certain mode of maintaining the Law of nations, and of terminating dissension within any State.

"The first mentioned of these powers is that which many persons are most earnest to have lodged in Congress without control. If such an absolute resignation should be judged improper, there can be no doubt but the grant may be so modified as to produce the desired effect without being liable to the inconveniences apprehended from an unqualified cession."

From John De Brett.

Honourable Sir,

I presume to solicit the honour of your patronage in regard to the publication of such official and state papers as it may be deemed advisable and expedient

to give to the world. As successor to M^r^ Almon, bookseller of this place, I have continued through the whole of the Contest between Great Britain and the American States to publish every interesting paper concerning it which has appeared, and the whole collected in the *Remembrancer*, together with my *Parliamentary Register*, now form a complete *Compendium* of the Transactions of this memorable era. I am exceedingly anxious to preserve to this periodical publication the distinction which it hath hitherto maintained of being the Chronicle of every authentic and important paper that shall relate to America, and I presume to solicit your good offices in my favour, and to request that if at any time it may be requisite or agreeable to republish in this country Papers, which from time to time may be issued from the American Press, you will be pleased to honour me with your commands. I presume to flatter myself that you will find upon inquiry, that through the whole of the Contest I have conducted myself so as to merit your confidence, and that my house is now, as it has been for years in respect of situation and connection, the most convenient for the publication of whatever is Political. I have the honour to be, with the most profound Respect, Honourable Sir, your most Obed^t^ & Faithful Humble Servant,

JOHN DE BRETT.

London, June 13, [1783.]

FROM F. PETERSON.

Utrecht, the 21^st^ of June, A^o^ 1783.

DEAR SIR,

As fame naturally attracts curiosity, many young travellers from Europe will cross the Atlantic to see the American Constellation, now ranked in the Political Religion, and admired by all. But as General Washington by his *Sword* and Secretary Thomson by his *Pen* have been perpetually employed from the beginning,

those two gentlemen are looked upon as the great actors in the Revolution and their acquaintance will be courted by all who have thirst for fame. With the Gen[l] W— I have no acquaintance; but with you, Sir, under the auspices of the Rev[d] D[r] Fr[s] Alison, at Thunder Hill, an intimacy was contracted. I then admired your superior abilities without foreseeing that you was one day to become a Minister & Director of an extensive Empire; upon which I Congratulate you, at the same time taking the liberty to introduce to your acquaintance the bearer of this Letter, Count Van Hogendorp, a young nobleman of this Republick, of distinguished qualities & deserving of the politest reception. His amiable behaviour will bespeak your favour better than all that I can write. He accompanies M[r] Van Berkell, the Minister of their Most High Mightinesses to your Court. When the publick entry & audience of State are over & you descend to the enjoyment of social life, I beg of you in the character of a Private Gentleman to admit the young Count into your circle. Let this be his Credential or introduction, and I presume that he will support the honour granted him better than the introducer himself, who is accustomed to an humble walk in the mercantile line—as Military Clothier of the Troops here.

I am well assured that you will approve of the frankness with which I write, and that you'll believe me to be, with great esteem & regard, Dear Sir, your most obed[t] servant,

F. Peterson.

From John Jay.

Passy, 19 July, 1783.

Dear Sir,

My last to you was a short Letter by M[r] John Penn, who I suppose is near America by this time. When I consider that no person in the world is so

perfectly acquainted with the rise, conduct and conclusion of the American Revolution as yourself, I cannot but wish that you would devote one hour in the four and twenty to giving Posterity a true account of it. I think it might be comprised in a small compass. It need not be burdened with *minute* accounts of Battles, Retreats, Evacuations, &c.; leave those matters to voluminous historians. The political story of the Revolution will be most liable to misrepresentation, and future relations of it will probably be replete both with intentional and accidental errors. Such a work would be highly advantageous to your reputation, as well as highly important to the Cause of Truth with posterity. I don't mean that it should be published during your life, that would be improper for many reasons; nor do I think it should be known that you was employed in such a work. This hint therefore is for yourself and shall go no further.

With very sincere esteem and regard, I am, Dear Sir, your friend & servant,

JOHN JAY.

Cha^{s} Thomson Esq^{r}

FROM JOHN JAY.

Passy, 12 Sep^{t}, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

M^{r} Thaxter, who returns unspoiled, is the bearer of the definitive Treaty and will deliver you this. M^{r} Hartley expects soon to confer with us about Commerce, and says he is persuaded that Britain will be liberal. I should not doubt it if it was certain that the United States could and would act like one nation. I think all our Commercial Treaties should observe exact Reciprocity. M^{r} Hartley wishes that the American carrying trade on both sides of the Boundary Line may be in common *forever*. I doubt the policy of our agreeing to it except for limited terms, or during

the duration of the Treaty of Commerce, which in my opinion should be temporary, unless very extensively free and reciprocal, because such Treaties if unequal and full of restrictions may in time be very disadvantageous, though at present convenient.

D^r^ Franklin wishes to provide against Privateering and depredations on unarmed people in future wars. I agree with him perfectly except that I wish every army invading us may be a licentious, predatory one, for in that case the Inhabitants would oppose them with more vigor & perseverance. It is my determination to return next summer, and therefore I hope my friends will not think of employing me in Europe in any way that might interfere with it. The Prints herewith enclosed relate to a subject which excites universal attention; they will explain themselves. M^rs^ Jay, who is just getting out of the straw, presents her compliments to you and M^rs^ Thomson. With great regard & attachment I am, Dear Sir, your friend & servant,

JOHN JAY.

Cha^s^ Thomson, Esq^r^

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Passy, Sep^t^ 13, 1783.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

M^r^ Livingston having resigned, I am obliged to trouble you with some notes of enquiry and other papers that have been put into my hands from time to time. If you can procure any of the information desired, you will much oblige me and some of my friends. With great esteem I am ever your most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Cha^s^ Thomson, Esqr.

From Richard Peters.

Belmont, 20 Oct., 1783.

Dear Sir,

I hope, tho' I have quitted the connexion with you in the *political circuit*, as a farmer to have some of your attention. Not that I have any great longings after Congressional Intelligence, for I am much the happiest when I hear or think nothing of the erratic meteor which rose with so much splendor & I fear will set with no small disgrace. I have often heard America compaired to Antæus, who was invigorated by a fall in which he touched his mother earth. If this could be the case with our *permanently wandering* Giant, the sooner he is at the lowest the better. But as the experiment may be dangerous it would have been well for the authors of all his degradations both in and out of ——— to consider whether Cordials will not do better than Prostrations. I most *cordially* hate drams because they leave me worse than they find me. But I abominate being *knocked down*, & of the two I would prefer the Cordial. To leave metaphors to metaphor mongers, let me request you to do me the favour of writing to me now and then. You cannot plead want of time, especially as M^rs^ Thomson—to whom make my compliments acceptable—is with you. I only ask a side for a quire or a ream you would have employed in writing to her. Not that I put myself on the same footing with her, but I am sure you have a side for a friend and hope a warm one. What is become of the Indian Treaty? As to the definitive one it is too stale to inquire after. Is there any thing doing in the Peace Establishment, or is it to be frittered away to the phantom the Report of the Committee will make of it? I am too much taken up with my own affairs or I would versify the fable of the Boar whetting his Tusks & have it printed in a kind of Political Primer to be read by all political Boars &

Pigs. This would be a lesson according to the old adage, he that *runs may read*, and I am sure if we do not *read* in case of another war we shall *run*, as the Corporal told the Colonel. I suppose your honour & all the world have heard of my resignation. Our assembly have appointed no person in my stead, and I am much pressed to accept of a reappointment. But the reasons of my declining continue in full force, & therefore it shall go hard with me, but I will find a way to be off in case of my friends persisting at the next session in their desire to reappoint me; tho' I hope I may not be put to the trial nor do I see any reason why I should. I have strong private reasons to continue me in my resolution, & there are no public inducements to tempt me. I value many of the gentlemen of Congress since I ——— fill up the blank as you please. But the whole body want influence & power to do themselves & the public justice, & while gentlemen come to execute instead of control the prejudices of their States, a seat will neither be an object of ambition or pleasure. I do not believe but that there are many who wish every thing done that ought to be done, but there are enough to prevent them from having their wishes gratified. It is a poor consolation that these seekers after a temporary popularity will one day have the curses of those they now mislead or flatter. Do not think I am eaten up with the spleen, tho' I confess my gall overflows when I see the affairs of a great nation so miserably quacked & nostrumed. I am perhaps the more sensibly affected when I reflect on the late transactions of ———, particularly as I have received recent accounts from Europe from intelligent persons of their mischievous effects. You may be assured that nothing could have happened more unfortunately to damp the enthusiasm which was rising in Europe in our favour, & it is mortifying to hear of the contempt in which we are held by our enemies, with the old leaven about them, & the lamentations of our friends but adds to one's chagrin. The emigra-

tion from Philadelphia is not thought so much of as the refusal to return, & all our prognostics which were treated as local prejudices & Pennsylvania pride & interestedness have been but too literally verified. But I will write no more about Politics, convinced of the inefficacy of my lamentations. It is only in the walks of private life & private friendships we can be assured of real satisfaction, & when you have abandoned the Political Comet whose aberrations are beyond calculation, I hope to experience some of these satisfactions & give you in return every proof of my being very affectionately yours,

RICHARD PETERS.

Charles Thomson, Esq^r^.

FROM JOHN JAY.

London, 14^th^ Nov. 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I have been here a month, & well only two days; first a bloody flux & now a sore throat. I came in quest of health, but *seek and you shall find* does not, it seems, always extend to that of the body.

The Parliam^t^ is setting. The King's speech and its echoes you will see in the papers. I have not had any conversation on politics with either of the Ministers. In my opinion no plan or system of conduct respecting America is yet decided upon by the Cabinet, in which the jarring principles of Whig and Tory still thrive & ferment. The latter persuade themselves that we shall not be able to act as a nation, that our Governm^t^ is too feeble to command respect & our credit too much abated to recover its reputation or merit confidence. I hope better things. We are not without friends in this Country, but they have more inclination than power to be friendly. We have also enemies, & bitter ones. If we act wisely and unitedly we shall

have nothing to fear. It is in our power finally to make a navigation act & prevent British vessels carrying our productions, provided we would execute it. We should find it of as much value as many treaties of commerce. Let us, however, act with temper—it is more easy to make sores than heal them. But if Britain sh[d] adopt & persist in a monopolizing system, let us retaliate fully and firmly. This nation, like many others, is influenced more by its feelings than reasonings. You will herewith receive some Pamphlets.

I am, D[r] Sir, your aff[te] friend & servant,

JOHN JAY.

Cha[s] Thomson Esq[r].

To JOHN DE BRETT.

Annapolis, Dec. 16[th], 1783.

SIR,

Just as I was leaving Philadelphia I rec[d] y[r] Letter of the 10 [13] June, with a packet containing the Remembrancers and the volumes relative to Burgoyne and the dispute between Clinton & Cornwallis, for which I thank you. The papers in my office are so deranged by the removal that I cannot send you any thing except a copy of the journals as far as they are printed, of which I beg your acceptance. The Constitutions of the States were printed under circumstances that occasioned some inaccuracies. I intend to have them revised and republished. When that is done I think they will attract the notice of the public and be worth your publishing. There are sundry other matters & papers which I propose as soon as I have leisure to arrange & digest for publication, and which will throw light upon the transactions of the present time. I shall be happy in promoting y[r] views and complying with your wishes whenever I have an opportunity. I am, &c.

P.S. I shall be much obliged if you will send me a complete *set* of Parliamentary Register.

From George Washington.

Mount Vernon, 22nd Jany, 1784.

Dear Sir,

The original letter & other papers from the Chevr de Heintz respecting the order of the Knights of Divine Providence were transmitted to Congress without a copy being taken. I am a little at a loss, therefore, in what manner to direct my letter to him, more especially as I have a faint recollection that there is a mode pointed out for the address of the Secretary himself. Let me pray you, therefore, my good Sir, to examine into this matter, and after giving my letter another cover, to put it into the proper channel for conveyance.

If my commission is not necessary for the files of Congress I should be glad to have it deposited amongst my own papers. It may serve *my grandchildren* some fifty or a hundred years hence for a theme to ruminate upon, *if they should be* contemplatively disposed.

We have been so fast locked in snow and ice since Christmas that all kinds of intercourse have been suspended, & a duty which I owed my mother & intended ere this to perform has been forced to yield to the intemperance of the weather; but as this again must submit to the approaching sun, I shall soon be enabled, I expect, to discharge that duty on which nature & inclination have a call, and shall be ready afterwards to welcome my friends to the shadow of this vine & fig-tree, where, I hope it is unnecessary to add, I should be happy to see you and any of *my late masters*, now representatives. Mrs. Washington, if she knew I was writing to you in the stile of Invitation, would, I am certain, adduce arguments to prove that I ought to include Mrs. Thomson; but before she should have half spun the thread of her discourse, it is more than probable I should have nonplussed her by yielding readily to the force of her reasoning.

With sentiments of sincere reg^{d} & esteem, I am, D^{r} Sir, Y^{r} most obed. Serv^{t},

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

Charles Thomson, Esq^{r}.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Chaillot, near Paris, 7 Ap., 1784.

DEAR SIR,

On the 5th inst. M^{r} Norris gave me your obliging letter of the 26th Sept. last. I regret that he did not come here sooner, for it will always give me pleasure to have opportunities of evincing my esteem & regard for you by attentions to those who possess yours. M^{r} Carmichael, whom I had long expected with the public accounts, did not arrive until the 27th ult., when M^{r} Redley had just gone to England, & M^{r} Barclay, who had been long there, was (and is still) absent. Nothing but the settlem^{t} of those accounts now detain me here, and a mortifying detention it is considering that this best season for being at sea is passing away. While I stay M^{r} Norris shall perceive that he could have brought few recommendations so acceptable as yours, and those amiable qualities for which you command him. I wish he may return as uncorrupted as he came. Paris is a place better calculated for the improve^{t} of ripen years, & in my opinion very young men should not visit it. Our country has already sent some here who will return the worse for their travels. I hope your young friend may escape; if he should you may congratulate him on having made the choice of Hercules, for he will be tempted. On the 1st inst. I rec^{d} your favor of the 14 Jan^{y} last by Col. Harmar. I flatter myself that the delays attending the ratification of the Treaty will not occasion difficulties, especially as one of the Ministers who made the Peace is now at the head of the British Adminis-

tration. If European commercial restrictions produce unanimity and tend to raise a national spirit in our country, which probably will be the case, I shall think them blessings. It is time for us to think and act like a Sovereign as well as a Free People, and by temperate and steady self-respect to command that of other nations. It is too much the fashion to depreciate Congress, & I fear that as well as many other new fashions will cost us dear. Be pleased to present our complim^ts^ to M^rs^ Thomson. With great & sincere regard & esteem, I am, D^r^ Sir, your most obe^d^ servant,

JOHN JAY.

Cha. Thomson, Esq.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Passy, April 16^th^, 1784.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind Letters by Colonel Harmar, & Lieut. Colonel Frank, with the Dispatches in good order, triplicates of which are since come to hand. You will see by our letter to the President that we daily expect M^r^ Hartley from London with the British Ratification to exchange with us. There was no difficulty occasioned by the lapse of the term. I send you herewith four packets of newspapers, by which you will be informed of the confusions that have reigned all winter in England, and the probability of their being finish^d^ by the choice of a new Parliament in which the present Ministry will have a great majority. The n. papers are directed for the Presid^t^.

You are good in excusing the trouble I have given you with so many little affairs & enquiries and for enabling me to give some answer to the persons who make them. I am pestered continually with such matters.

I am happy to learn from you that disposition

begins to prevail in the states to comply with the requisitions of Congress, and Funds for the regular payment of the Interest and discharge of the Principal of the Debts contracted by the War. Punctuality and exact justice will contribute more to our reputation, & of course, to our strength, than people generally imagine. Without those virtues we shall find it difficult in case of another war to obtain either friends or money, and a reliance on that may encourage and hasten another attack upon us. Gratitude to our former benefactors is another point we should seize every opportunity of demonstrating. I place with you much confidence in the good sense of our countrymen, and thence I hope that the endeavours of some persons on both sides the water to sow jealousies and suspicions and create misunderstandings between France and us will be ineffectual. A Commission from Congress for a Commercial Treaty with Britain has long been expected. If the intention of sending such a Commission is not changed I wish it may arrive before M^r^ Laurens leaves us, who has a more perfect knowledge of the subject than any of us and might be greatly useful.

A Minister from Denmark has been waiting in Paris all winter for the result of Congress on the proposed Treaty, a plan of which was long sent, as also one for a Treaty with Portugal. I hope by the return of the Washington pacquet we may receive some directions respecting them. I am, with sincere and great esteem, my Dear Friend, your most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM THE SAME.

Passy, May 13^th^, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday evening M^r^ Hartley met with M^r^ Jay and myself, when the ratifications of the Definitive

Treaty were exchanged. I send a copy of the English Ratification to the President. Thus the great and hazardous enterprize we have been engaged in is, God be praised, happily compleated; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of Peace will improve, will restore and encrease our strength. But our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world that we are a Nation to be depended on for fidelity in Treaties, if we appear negligent in paying our Debts and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us, our reputation and all the strength it is capable of procuring will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted by better prospects of success. Let us therefore beware of being lulled into a dangerous security, and of being both enervated and impoverished by luxury; of being weakened by internal contentions and divisions; of being shamefully extravagant in contracting private debts while we are backward in discharging honorably those of the public; of neglect in militia exercises and discipline, and in providing stores of arms and munitions of war to be ready on occasion. For all these are circumstances that give confidence to enemies and diffidence to friends, and the expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it.

I am long kept in suspense without being able to learn the purpose of Congress respecting my request of recall, and that of some employment for my Secretary, W. Temple Franklin.

If I am kept here another winter and as much weakened by it as by the last, I may as well resolve to spend the remainder of my days here, for I shall be hardly able to bear the fatigues of the voyage in returning. During my long absence from America my friends are continually diminishing by death, and my

inducements to return in proportion. But I can make no preparations either for going conveniently or staying comfortably here, nor take any steps toward making some other provision for my grandson, till I know what I am to expect. Be so good, my dear friend, as to send me a little private information.

With great esteem, I am ever, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Cha^{s} Thomson, Esq^{r}, *Sec^{y} of Congress.*

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Philadel^{a}, May 21, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of the 16th last night. I was out when it was delivered, so know not how it came, a circumstance no otherwise important than as I am at a loss how or where to inquire for the packet which should have accompanied it, containing the Commissions, Instructions, etc. I shall immediately, however, make the enquiry. I am obliged to you for the order for the journal. I shall make use of it to procure those of 1779–1783, and part of 1784. which my set wants. My matter in the printing way is dropped. Aitken had formerly told me he would print it for £4 a sheet. He now asks £5 10s., which raises the price from £48 to £66; but what was a more effectual and inseparable bar was that he could not complete it under three weeks, a time I could not wait for it. Dunlap happened to be out of town, so I relinquished the plan. Perhaps I may have a few copies struck off in Paris if there be an English Printer. If I do you shall assuredly have one. I shall take the liberty of adding some of your notes—those which were mendatory merely will have their effect on the body of the

work. I left all the papers belonging to the Grand Committee in the hands of Mr Blanchard. Among these were the papers relating to Vermont. My reason for not delivering them to you as I did the others was, that the Committee was to sit that morning. There are vessels arrived here which left London as late as the 14 of April. Nothing important, however, has yet been communicated from them. The principal interesting occurrence here is a very daring insult committed on Mr Marbois by a Frenchman, who calls himself the Cheval. De Longchamps, but is in fact, the nephew of the Minister's Steward's wife. He obliged him in his own defence to box in the streets like a porter. He is demanded by the Minister to be delivered up by the Executive here to be sent to France for punishment. They are plodding over the case. Whether he be a citizen of America or not is not yet decided. I shall endeavor to make myself acquainted with the facts because it will probably be the cause of something disagreeable here, and perhaps on the other side of the water. I think there is a desire in the Executive to give every satisfaction they can, but whether it is in the syllables and letters of the Law that a Frenchman committing an outrage may be delivered up to his master for punishment is matter of dubiety. You will hear enough of it, as it comes to Congress, of course; so I will add no more than my respectful compliments to Mrs Thomson and assurances to yourself that I am, with much esteem, Dr Sir, your friend and servant,

THO. JEFFERSON.

P.S. I find your Letter came by post, but no packet with it. The arrival of so late a vessel is now contradicted.

From Benjamin Franklin.

Passy, June 14, 1784.

Dear Sir,

I received yours of April 19th with the information you obtained from our old neighbour Reuben Haines respecting Marggrander, for which I thank you. I am much pestered with applications to make such enquiries, and often obliged to promise that I will transmit them; but I would not wish you to take more trouble than to ask questions of the members of Congress or others that fall in your way, and communicate to me their answers if of any importance. I have also a multitude of projects sent to me with requests that I would lay them before Congress; they are plans and schemes of Government and Legislation, Education, Defence, Manufactures, Commerce, &c., form'd by people who have great good will to us, but are totally ignorant of our affairs and circumstances; whence their projects are for the most part wild and impracticable or unfit to be presented to Congress as not pertaining to their jurisdiction. I have therefore not forwarded them, but will now and then send some of them for your amusement if you should ever have any leisure, that you may see how people make shoes for feet they have never measured. As your letter mentions nothing of publick affairs I imagined I might have had by the same conveyance some dispatches from Congress, perhaps in the care of some passenger; but a fortnight has past since the arrival of the packet boat and no Letters appear, so that I have nothing from Congress later than the 14 of January, and continue in great uncertainty as to my return. Mr Norris came here after residing some time at Liege. He staid but a week or two at Paris and then removed to a country town not far distant where nothing but French is spoken, in order to improve himself in that language. He seems a sensible, discreet young man, and I should

with pleasure render him any service that may be in my power. The King of Sweden is now at this court enjoying the various splendid entertainments provided for him. The Danish Minister is astonished that the Congress are so long without taking any notice of the proposed Treaty. With great esteem, I am ever, my Dear Friend, your most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

Chas. Thomson, Esq[r], *Secretary of Congress.*

FRAGMENT. TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

[May 18th, 1784.]

. . . started whether considering the circumstances of the case and the state of the votes the members from Rhode Island had a right to a seat. They attended and claimed a right to sit and vote until 7 States agreed that their time was expired. This consumed another day and the question was left undecided. Yesterday the members attended, and one of them rising to speak he was called to order and the question was moved and put, Is the member in order to speak or vote in Congress? 7 States, including the vote of R. I., were in the affirmative. But here again another question was moved, whether the vote of R. I. could be taken. And on this the remainder of the day was spent without coming to a decision. The members of N. C. whose time expired on the 13 had withdrawn and were absent the two first days. Then receiving new credentials on Saturday they took their seats on Monday [May 17, 1784] and took a share in the debates, which were conducted with a good deal of warmth on both sides of the question. The Dels. for N. C. have rec[d] advice that a bill is preparing to grant the impost and additional quota called for by the Act of April, 1783. It

is said that the Legislature are disposed to make a cession of Western claims. This seems favorable to the Union. I wish the States would send forward men of enlarged minds and conciliating tempers, that matters might not be precipitated and that time might be given for consolidating and strengthening the confederacy. That it may be lasting, is the ardent wish of, Dear Sir, your affectionate,

CHA. THOMSON.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Philadelphia, June 18, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I flattered my self with the hopes of seeing you on my return to Philadelphia, but found you had set out for Boston with a view to embark at that place. I have therefore sent by a conveyance directly for France three commissions for negotiating, if necessary, additional treaties of Commerce with France, the United Netherlands, and Sweden, and a duplicate of the instructions. The affair of Longchamps is still undecided. When the matter was first brought before Congress he had absconded and it was supposed had fled to some other State. Upon this Congress passed an Act recommending it to the several States to issue a proclamation and offer a reward of five hundred dollars for apprehending him, so that he might be brought to justice. Before this could take effect he was apprehended and confined in prison, but soon after admitted to bail. As his going at large gave offence he was delivered up by his bail and again confined; but having applied for a writ of habeas corpus he was brought before Justice Bryan, and on his return found means to escape from the officer who had him in custody. However he was again taken in a few days and is now confined, and to have his trial on the 24 of this month.

As I purpose to attend the trial I shall be able to give you a more particular account of the result.

On the third of June Congress was adjourned agreeably to the Act of 26 April, to meet at Trenton on the 30th October. Previous to the adjournment they appointed a Committee of the States and defined their powers. On the 4 June the Committee met and elected M^r^ Hardy chairman. I took the opportunity of mentioning to the Com^e^ the necessity I was under to return to Philadelphia, and expressed a wish that I might be indulged with leave to remain there unless something should occur to render my attendance on them necessary. This they readily and unanimously granted, which was the more satisfactory as they could not obtain the vote of nine States for their meeting at Philadelphia. They then adjourned to meet again at Annapolis on the 26 instant. I had some doubts of their being able to form a Committee, but as delegates from Georgia are come on and Delaware it is said will attend, I fancy they will have a quorum on the 28, and have great hopes they will be so tired of their situation in Annapolis that they will be induced to remove to the northward. I wish Congress were settled. This mode of rambling is neither consistent with dignity nor convenience. But I find we must go the common round of nations before us and learn wisdom from our own experience.

With great regard I am, Dear Sir, Your obedient, humble serv^t^,

CHA. THOMSON.

P. S. I take the liberty of enclosing a letter to Mr Jay. Should he have left France before this reaches you, you will be so kind as to return or forward it to him. I must beg leave to recommend to your friendly notice and attention M^r^ Isaac Norris, a near relation of Mrs Thomson. As he is a young man of an amiable disposition and considerable fortune, I am anxious he should return as uncorrupted as he went, which I fear

will not be the case with some of our young men. Mr Jay was so obliging as to take him under his protection, and I shall esteem it as a particular favour if you will by your advice and countenance direct his pursuits so that he may avoid the temptations that will be thrown in his way and become a useful member of society.

C. T.

Honble Thomas Jefferson.

To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, Oct. 1, 1784.

Dear Sir;

Though I have nothing agreable to write yet I cannot suffer Mr Short to go without a line to give you some information of the present situation of affairs. Agreably to your advice, when Congress adjourned I met the Committee of the States, and having opened a book for their journals and made the necessary arrangements, I applied for leave of absence, which was readily and unanimously granted, and I returned to Philadelphia. The Committee also gave themselves a short recess by adjournment from the 4 to the 26 of June. Nine States did not meet till the 8 July, when they proceeded to business, but not with the harmony and good humour that could have been wished. The Deputies from Pensylvania attended on the day assigned for the appointment of a court to decide on the claims respecting the private right of soil of the Wioming lands between the claimants under grants from Pensylvania and Connecticut. But as the Deputies from Connecticut did not appear and the Committee of the States had not assembled, the business went off without any thing being done, and that affair remains in a very disagreeable situation and is like to produce very unhappy consequences. On the

24 July a motion was made for adjourning the Committee of the States to Trenton, but being lost it was again renewed on the 3 August, and being then lost; three of the members, viz., Messrs Blanchard, Dana and Dick., left the Com^ee on the 11 and returned home. The remaining member, after waiting till the 19 and seeing no prospect of forming a Com^ee, advised the removal of the papers and records to Philadelphia and wrote to the several States to send on Delegates to that place. Five have met here and have caused notice of their meeting to be sent to the States unrepresented, with an earnest request to send on Delegates. But it does not appear to me that any Committee will be formed before the meeting of Congress, which is to be at Trenton on the 30 of this month or the first Monday in November. Though this invisibility of a Federal head will have little effect on our affairs here, or on the minds of the citizens of the United States, who can easily reconcile themselves to it and who will view it in no other light than the rising or dissolution of their several Legislatures, to which they have been accustomed, yet I am apprehensive it will have an ill aspect in the eyes of European nations and give them unfavorable impressions which will require all your address and abilities to remove.

The messenger sent to Canada is returned and has brought an answer from Gen. Haldiman, of which I enclose a copy, and by which you will see that though he has rec^d official information of the ratification of the definitive Treaty of Peace, yet no orders are sent to evacuate the posts within the United States. There is a report that the garrisons are relieved and the posts supplied with near twelve month's provisions. I leave you to draw conclusions from this conduct. What steps Congress will take respecting this matter I know not. In the meanwhile I am sorry to find that R. I. still continues obstinate and refuses to grant the impost, which seems to be the only means of establish-

ing national credit and reputation and giving us weight with foreign nations. H. and E., it is said, got home just in time to prevent a change that was like to take place in their public councils and to confirm their former obstinacy.

On the 13 August I wrote a long letter to Doct. Franklin in which I gave him a full account of the proceeding in the case of Longchamps. Matters still remain in the same situation, and I am apprehensive that the bill which I mentioned to be before the Legislature has not been passed, as that assembly was suddenly broken up on Tuesday last by the secession of 19 members on account of an alteration that was about to be made in the test laws. I have not yet heard whether Mr. Jay will accept the office of Sec^{ry} for Foreign Affairs, though I have some faint hope that he will. Mr. S. arrived in town some week ago. I am told that he seems hurt at not being received with the same demonstrations of joy and marks of attention as were shewn to the Marquis de la Fayette, who arrived some days before him. He purposes to await the meeting of Congress, as he has some communications to make respecting their affairs in Europe.

I find Spain is still bent on obtaining the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi. Rendon shewed me this morning a letter from Galvez, the Minister for the American department, wherein he desires him to inform Congress that the intercourse with New Orleans and with Havanna is shut till the boundaries between the U. S. and Spain are settled, and that the court cannot admit that England had a right to settle the boundaries with the U. S. in that country which Spain had conquered in 1782—before the provisional treaty.

Please to make my compliments to your colleagues. Mrs T. joins in respects to you and your daughter.

With great respect, I am, Dear Sir, yours,

CHA. THOMSON.

Hon^{ble} Tho^{s} Jefferson.

To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1784.

Dear Sir,

In my letter of 18 June last I recommended M^r^ Isaac Norris to your friendly notice. I now take the liberty of doing the same for his brother Joseph, first because I know the benevolence of your disposition, and next because he is so desirous of being introduced to your acquaintance that I am persuaded the notice you will take of him will excite his utmost endeavors by a proper deportment to merit your esteem; and it is of no small importance when young men go abroad and are exposed to scenes of dissipation and to the temptations of dissolute cities, that they should have as many inducements as possible to stimulate them to virtue and to guard them from vice and folly.

This young gentleman has turned his attention to trade. His voyage to Europe is for the purpose of establishing mercantile connections. But he has an inclination to visit Paris, principally with a view to gain a fuller knowledge of a people to whom his country already owes so many obligations, and with whom it is hoped and there is reason to believe we shall have great commercial concerns. I therefore beg leave warmly to recommend him to your friendly notice, and shall esteem your attention to him an obligation conferred on, Dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble serv^t^,

Cha. Thomson.

To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1784.

Dear Sir,

I shall not trouble you at this time with any thoughts on our southern boundary or the views and disposition

of our southern boundary, as I imagine M^r Madison, whose letter I enclose, has written fully on that subject; but it is possible he may not have known what I am told is a fact, that the Sp. are strongly fortifying at the Natches.

I am informed by some of our merchants trading to Lisbon, that it is a custom or law of the place, when flour is admitted, to order the cargo into the hands of a public officer who is to retail it out in very small quantities, and that this is destructive to trade and ruinous to the shipper, as it consumes time and prevents a speedy return, which is of the utmost consequence to merchants, especially if their capitals are but moderate. In case of a commercial treaty with that nation it will be well to inquire minutely into this matter and to have every obstruction removed. You know of what importance the flour aud corn trade is to the middle states.

Please to make my compliments to your colleagues and accept the warmest assurance of friendship from Dear Sir, your affectionate,

CHA^s THOMSON.

Hon^ble Tho^s Jefferson.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, Nov. 11^th, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of June 18. You will learn by the letters, &c. which go in this packet that this world is all going to war. Thank God ours is out of their vortex. Holland and the Emperor are the only powers which appear as yet, but I have no doubt that the spring will lead France, Prussia, and the Porte into the field on one side, and Russia on the other. England will probably be neuter, from impotence and domestic disturbance—but

"what have you or I with peace or war to do" says the song, and say I. I send you a pamphlet on the subject of animal magnetism, which has disturbed the nerves of prodigious numbers here. I believe this report will allay the evil. I also send you Roberts' last aerial voyage. There has been a lamp called the cylinder lamp lately invented here. It gives a light equal, as is thought, to that of six or eight candles. It requires olive oil, but its consumption is not great. The improvement is produced by forcing the wick into a hollow cylinder so that there is a passage for the air through the hollow. The idea had occurred to Doctor Franklin a year or two before, but he tried his experiment with a rush, which not succeeding he did not prosecute it. The fact was the rush found too small a cylinder; the one used is of an inch diameter. They make shade candlesticks for studious men, which are excellent for reading; these cost two guineas. I should have sent you a specimen of the phosphoric matches but that I am told Mr. Rittenhouse has had some of them. They are a beautiful discovery and very useful, especially to heads which like yours and mine cannot at all times be got to sleep. The convenience of lighting a candle without getting out of bed, of sealing letters without calling a servant, of kindling a fire without flint, steel, punk, &c., are of value. Will you subscribe for the Encyclopedie Methodique? The subscription is as yet open; about two-fifths of the work is published; the whole will cost to subscribers 751 livres. I know of no other work here lately published or now on hand which is interesting. I must pray you send me a complete copy of the journals from Nov. 1, 1783 downwards. The few sheets I had I sent when in Philadelphia to Dunlap to complete, and he never returned them or any others to me. I have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Norris sometimes. I am in hopes he is discreet and that you need not fear the corruption of his morals; he is well at present. There is one danger at his age which some other instances

have proved real—that of forming a connection, as is the fashion here, which he might be unwilling to shake off when it shall be proper for him to return to his own country, and which might detain him disadvantageously here. I have not the smallest intimation that he is disposed to do this, but it is difficult for young men to refuse it where beauty is a begging in every street. Indeed, from what I have seen here I know not one good purpose on earth which can be effected by a young gentleman coming here. He may learn indeed to speak the language, but put this in the scale amongst other things he will learn and evils he is sure to acquire and it will be found too light. I have always disapproved of a European education for our youth from theory; I now do it from inspection.

I am with great esteem, D^r^ Sir, your friend and servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

New York, March 6^th^, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your favor of the 11 November, with the pamphlets, for which I return you my hearty thanks. Before I had heard of these experiments, or of this report, I was greatly at a loss what to think of this matter. The Marquis de la Fayette had come over quite an enthusiast in favor of it. He desired a meeting to be called of the Philosophical Society at Phila^a^ and entertained them on the subject for the greater part of an evening. He informed them that he was one of Mesmer's scholars or initiates, and was let into the secret, but was not at liberty to reveal it. He spoke of it as a wonderful and important discovery which would be of great benefit to mankind, and mentioned his having himself by means of it performed a surprizing cure on his passage. I was not present

at the meeting, for which I was sorry. Still, however, it appeared to me strange that there should be a fluid pervading all nature capable of being collected, and where collected of producing such wondrous effects, and that no trace of it should ever before have been observed or noticed by any philosopher in the various researches into nature or the experiments on matter or motion.

Having heard much of the Shakers in this State and the agitations with which they were affected and with which they affected some who visited them, I began to hesitate and even to admit an opinion that they had by some means stumbled upon this discovery, and that what they imputed to Divine impulse was the effect and operation of this new discovered fluid. The report, however, has removed my doubts and cured me of that opinion. But though it has exposed the absurdity and imposition of Mesmer's doctrine, the experiments that were made have themselves made a very wonderful and very important discovery, namely, to what degree imagination can operate on the human frame.

I am much pleased with your description of the cylinder lamps, and wish for an opportunity of procuring one. The phosphoretic matches I have seen. They are sold as toys in our toy-shops. I think them a pretty invention, but am not much disposed to make use of them for the purpose you hint. Indeed, I am generally obliged to be so much awake in the day that I sleep sound at night, and if I chance to awake in the night I embrace the opportunity of that solemn stillness to revolve in my mind some subject to which I wish to trace through its various relations or its probable effects and consequences. I would willingly subscribe for the Encyclopedie Methodique, but it appears to me as if I must bid adieu to the sciences. My time and attention are so engrossed with the duties and business of my office that I have no leisure for those philosophical researches I once was so fond of. And

from what I can observe Congress seemed disposed rather to increase than to lessen those duties.

I am made very happy by Mr Jay's acceptance of the office for the Department of Foreign Affairs. By him you will be supplied with the journals of Congress and regularly informed of their proceedings, and of the state of our affairs in general, so that I need not trouble you on that head.

I long to see your answer to M.'s queries. I hope you have before this found leisure to revise and compleat that work, and have committed it to the press—at least struck off some copies for the satisfaction of your friends, among whom I hope to be ranked. I beg leave to submit to your consideration whether you do not owe it to your reputation to revise your work and publish it under a more dignified title than that of "Notes on the State of Virginia in Answer to Queries." I think it may deserve the title of "A Natural History of Virginia."

In the state in which I saw it, I consider it a most excellent natural history, not merely of Virginia but of North America, and possibly equal if not superior to that of any Country yet published.

I thank you for your notice of Mr Norris, and shall be happy in every opportunity of testifying with what sincerity and respect I am, Dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

CHAS. THOMSON.

To Mr Jefferson.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, June 21, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Your favour of Mar. 6 is come duly to hand. You therein acknowledged the receipt of mine of Nov. 11. At that time you could not have received my last of Feb. 8th. At present there is so little in political lit-

erature or the arts that I write rather to prove my desire of nourishing your correspondence than of being able to give you any thing interesting; at this time the political world is almost lulled to sleep by the lethargic state of the Dutch negotiation, which will probably end in peace, nor does this Court profess to apprehend that the Emperor will involve their hemisphere in war by his schemes on Bavaria & Turkey. The arts instead of advancing have lately received a check which will probably render stationary for a while that branch of them which had promised to elevate us to the skies. Pilatre de Roziere, who had first entered into that region, has fallen a sacrifice to it, in an attempt to pass from Boulogne over to England, a change in the wind having brought him back to the coast of France, some accident happened to his balloon of inflammable air which occasioned it to burst, & that of rarefied air combined with it being then unequal to the weight they fell to the earth from a height which the first reports made 6,000 feet but later ones have reduced to 1,600 feet. Pilatre de Roziere was dead when a peasant, distant 100 yds only, run to him, but Romain, his companion, lived about 10 minutes, but speechless and without his senses. In literature nothing new, for I do not consider as having added anything to that field, my own notes, of which I have had a few copies printed. I will send you a copy by the first safe conveyance; having troubled M^r^ Otto with one for Col. Monroe, I could not charge him with one for you. Pray ask the favour of Col. Monroe in page 5, line 17, to strike out the words above the mouth of Appomattox which makes nonsense of the passage, and I forgot to correct it before I had enclosed and sent off the copies to him. I am desirous of preventing the reprinting of this, should any book merchant think it worth it, till I hear from my friends whether the terms in which I have spoken of slavery and of the Constitution of our State will not, by producing an irritation, retard that reforma-

tion which I wish instead of promoting it. Dr Franklin proposes to sail for America about the 1 or 2 week of July. He does not know by what conveyance he can go; unable to travel by land, he must descend the Seine in a boat to Havre. He has sent to England to get some vessel bound for Philadelphia to touch at Havre for him; but he receives information that this cannot be done. He has been on the lookout ever since he received his permission to return, but as yet no possible means of getting a passage has offered, and I fear it is very uncertain when any will offer.

I am, with very great Esteem, Dr Sir, your friend & servant,

Th° Jefferson.

P.S. I send you another piece of mesmerism which I suspect will make as great a sensation as the first.

From Abraham Baldwin.

Augusta, Feby 14, 1786.

Dear Sir,

It gives me great pleasure that I now have it in my power to inform you that the state of Georgia hath at length taken up the subjects which have been so long and so frequently recommended by Congress. The Legislature has given them a cool and dispassionate hearing, and of consequence has been impressed with the reasonableness of them. Legislative acts have been passed this session in compliance with the following recommendations:

1. For keeping a representative in Congress and fixing the commencement of the federal year.

2. For vesting Congress with power to levy 5 per cent. impost.

3. For a supplementary Fund.

4. For an alteration in the 8th article of Confederation.

5. The requisitions of 4th Sept, 1782, for 1,200,000, 27th April, 1784, for ½ of the requisition for eight millions, and Sept 27, 1785, adequate funds are appropriated by this Act. I hope they will be effectual.

6. An Act of June 7, 1785, to make provision for disabled Soldiers and Seamen.

7. An Act of 30 Sept respecting loan officers.

8. The thirteen copies of the Legislative Acts of this State the Secretary reported were not to be procured. It is ordered they should be printed immediately. All that can be obtained will soon be forwarded. On requisition of a cession of land to Congress, the Committee reported that as soon as the dispute between this state and South Carolina was settled and the accounts of the late war finally adjusted, this State would feel it to be their duty to be as liberal in their cession as any State in the Union. It was left at that.

The recommendation of April 30th, 1784, was reported favourably to the House, but as the result of Mr Monroe's motion respecting the 9th Article of Confederation was not known and the opposition appeared to be great, it was thought most adviseable not to enter the lists on that subject till it had been more digested in Congress and the amount of their wishes be known, that we might bring ourselves to the right point at once. There were so many important subjects to be taken up at once, there was danger that by grasping at too much the fears even of honest men might have been alarmed and their weapons thrown into the hands of the opposition. They would have thought there was a design to sell the State. More has been obtained this session than was expected. There are but two of all the recommendations of Congress left undetermined, viz., cession of lands and commerce. Our House is adjourned to meet on the 3 Tuesday in July next, at which time, if we should be favoured with that particular information on National Subjects neces-

sary to guide our proceedings, I doubt not the business will be settled to the satisfaction of our sister states. All these federal questions have met a warm and violent opposition in our House, and I have no doubt but the policy of Great Britain was intermingled in our debates not only with our interest, but with some reference to hers. Her own measures have strangely insinuated themselves even among our friends. The strength and influence in this State is most decidedly of liberal measures to support our national character and policy. In riding through the different states on my return I was fully convinced that the same disposition generally pervades them. There is no place where the clashing of State interest is so strongly marked as on the floor of Congress. There is scarcely a measure that can be carried in Congress which cannot also be carried with the Legislatures if a few individuals could be solicited in each who should feel themselves in some measure responsible for the State and would go through the labours of bringing them to a decission. There are so many private concerns and business which has advocates from interest crowding upon the attention of the Legislature that these, for want of patrons, often fall from neglect. Almost the only subject which need be the ground of any alarm from among ourselves is the embarrassments in settling the Federal Accounts. Information is not yet very particular. I ardently wish it never might be where it is; there are very uneasy apprehensions. I hope every exertion will be made to bring that business to a close. It had better be done roughly than delayed.

I am, Sir, with much respect, your obed., humble servant,

ABR^M BALDWIN.

Charles Thomson, Esq^r.

To Thomas Jefferson.

New York, April 6th, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 8 Oct., as well as those of 21 June by Mr Otto and the 14th July by Mr Houdon. I read your notes with much pleasure, and intended to have troubled you with some observations on them, but they have been so much out of my hands, though entrusted to such as you would approve, that I have not had an opportunity to revise them with that attention I wished and commit my thoughts to paper. I thank you for the trouble you took in sending the Cylinder Lamp, though I have not yet received it nor seen Col. Senf, by whom you sent it. The balloon discovery has had a rapid rise and has been pursued with great spirit as a raree show. But unless some skilful artist can find out some way to direct its course & preserve the gaz, I fear the remembrance of it will only furnish a figure in poetry and oratory, like Phaeton's attempt to guide the Chariot of the Sun. Several of the adventurers, I find, have lost their lives & others incurred imminent danger. Pray what progress is made in the art of discovering ships at a distance? This seems to me something like seeing out of sight. Mesmerism or animal magnetism seems to be quite dropt. It has, however, furnished a wonderful proof of the power of the imagination over the human frame. Were the philosophers so fully satisfied on this point that they gave it so soon the *coup de grace?* The people of Europe and America seem to be pursuing different amusements; while the former are diverting themselves with bubbles of air and quarreling with one another for toys and rattles; the latter are employed in the encrease of their species & providing the means of subsistence. Notwithstanding the paragraphs with which the European papers are stuffed & the pictures they have drawn of the distress of America, I will venture to assert there is not upon the face of the earth a

body of people more happy or rising into consequence with more rapid strides than the inhabitants of the United States of America. Population is encreasing, new houses building, new lands clearing, new settlements forming, & new manufactures establishing with a rapidity beyond conception, and what is more, the people are well clad, well fed, and well housed. Yet I will not say that all are contented. The merchants are complaining that trade is dull, the farmers that wheat and other produce are falling, the landlords that rent is lowering, the speculists and extravagant that they are compelled to pay their debts, and the idle and the vain that they cannot live at others cost and gratify their pride with articles of luxury. It is true that individual happiness is yet the general object, and the people are not yet sufficiently impressed with a sense of what they owe to their national character. But they are advancing in this science. Whether they will acquire it by reflection or be forced into a knowledge of it by experience I will not undertake to say. However, this I can inform you, that every State is busily employed in arranging its finances. Twelve States have granted Congress the impost for discharging the principal & interest of the Nat. Debt, and it is expected N. York will grant it in the present session of their Legislature. Of your Annapolis acquaintance Read, Gerry, & Monroe are married & Osgood on the brink of matrimony. M^rs^ Thomson joins in compliments to you and your daughter.

I am, Dear Sir, with much esteem and affection, your most ob. humble serv^t^,

CHA. THOMSON.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

London, Ap^l^ 22^nd^, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

In one of your former letters you expressed a wish to have one of the newly invented lamps. I find them

made much better than at Paris, and take the liberty of asking your acceptance of one which will accompany this letter. It is now found that any tolerable oil may be used in them; the spermaceti oil is best of the cheap kinds.

I could write you volumes on the improvements which I find made & making here is the Arts. One deserves particular notice, because it is simple, great, and likely to have extensive consequences. It the application of steam as an agent for working grist mills. I have visited the one lately made here. It was at that time turning eight pair of stones. It consumes 100 bushels of coal a day. It is proposed to put up 30 pair of stones. I do not know whether the quantity of fuel is to be increased. I hear you are applying this same agent in America to navigate boats, and I have little doubt but that it will be applied generally to machines so as to supercede the use of water ponds and of course to lay open all the streams for navigation. We know that steam is one of the most powerful engines we can employ, & in America fuel is abundant. I find no new publication here worth sending to you. I shall set out for Paris within three or four days. Our Public Letters will inform you of our public proceedings here. I am, with sincere esteem, Dear Sir, your friend & servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

Cha. Thomson.

FROM GEN. NATH. GREENE.

Savannah River,
Mulberry Grove, April 24th, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter with that of Mr Brown's was handed me a few days since. I live so retired that letters are often a long time coming to hand. I will thank you to forward the Letter to Mr Brown which accompanies this, and I wish you to forward the prints to me.

I hope the politicks of this State will please you better than they have done. The people begin to [grow] more enlightened, and a more liberal policy to prevail. All the recommendations of Congress were adopted at the meeting of the last Assembly excepting that respecting trade, and at the next meeting in July I have no doubt of that being adopted. This State has been of little importance to the Union, but its great increase of trade and population will soon place it among the first in the Confederation. If you can keep the Ship afloat a few years the navigation will be less difficult. Many matters in Europe are a little alarming, but I hope they will all blow over. I am, Dear Sir, with esteem, your most obedient humble servant,

NATH[L] G[REENE.]

The hon[ble] Charles Thomson, Esq[r].

To Gen. Nath. Greene.

New York, June 5, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 24[th] April and now embrace the first opportunity for forwarding the box with the prints, which goes by the schooner Happy Return, Arthur Loury, M[r], and for which I enclose you a bill of lading. I am glad to hear that the politics of Georgia are taking a favourable turn, and that a more enlightened and more liberal policy begins to prevail. I hope it will continue, and that as the State increases in importance it will contribute to the utmost of its power and influence to give weight & dignity to the Federal Council. This, in my opinion, is the only means of preserving internal peace, and

With great esteem & respect, I am, Dear Sir,

Duplicate P. post.

To Thomas Jefferson.

New York, July 6th, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I have just recd by the way of Baltimore your Letter of the 22nd April, with the new invented Lamp, for which I return you my most hearty thanks. I conclude you were disappointed in sending the one you mentioned in a former letter by Col. Senf, as he never called on me. The one you have now sent is an elegant piece of furniture, if it were not otherwise valuable on account of its usefulness. I am informed that this kind of Lamps is coming into use in Philadelphia & made there. I wish I could send you something from this Country worth your acceptance. But arts here are yet in their infancy, & though Philadelpa begins to imitate, yet has she not arrived to the perfection of inventing. I have heard much of those mills near London which are worked by steam, but cannot learn whether the steam is applied as an immediate agent for turning the wheels or raising water for that purpose. I am informed that there is a man in South Carolina who has invented a machine to raise an immense quantity of water in a short space of time, by which it is said he can flood rice grounds or draw off the water from drowned lands with great ease and little expence. I have not met with any person who could give me an account of the principles on which it was constructed, how it is worked, or what may be the probable expence. The inventor of the steam boat which is to go against the stream has applied to several Legislatures which have passed laws giving him for a number of years the exclusive privilege of constructing those boats, but I have not heard that any are yet built and in use.

During the course of last week we have had here for several evenings a display of the northern lights. The wind had blown for some days from south west &

the weather was warm and dry. As my house nearly fronts the S. S. W. and has a large opening back, I had a full and beautiful view of the lights from the windows of my back parlour, which is raised one story from the ground, the opposite houses only intercepting about four or five degrees from the horizon. As I viewed them on Friday the 30th June, there appeared over the tops of the houses a white luminous cloud extending in a horizontal position from N. E. to N. W. From this cloud at different places darted up successive streams of light tapering to points, some of them to the heighth of 50 degrees. The stars were bright and the north pole clearly discernable among the streamers, so that by it I could judge of their heighth. Sometimes the white cloud appeared in places a little darkened before the stream ascended, in which case I observed the ascending stream was tinged with red & continued to have a reddish hue. Having a lofty steeple in view to guide my eye & direct my judgment I observed two or three of the streams which rose in the north east and were of this hue, moving with a slow but regular progressive motion towards the north, still continuing perpendicular and very high.

From one of them I thought I saw a flash of lightning, but not seeing it repeated I concluded I was mistaken. The light was so great as to cast a shadow from body and from my hands against a wall. On the following evening, viz., Saturday, July 1st, we had nearly the same appearance but not in so great a degree. These, you will observe, are only common phenomenas which philosophers have endeavoured to account for on various principles, & about which I should not have troubled you but for a phenomenon which appeared on Saturday night. This was a luminous belt or stream of light, forming a great and regular bow from east to west. At what time it made its first appearance, or how it was formed, whether instantaneously or by degrees, I cannot say, as I did not see its first formation.

My attention was called to it about half after 10 o'clock. It was then quite complete & seemed to form an arch passing thro the zenith from horizon to horizon. As I viewed it to the west it seemed to rise from behind the opposite houses like a stream of pale white light about a yard broad, spreading as it advanced to the [zenith] to two or three times that breadth. Viewed to the east it had the same appearance down to the horizon, where its breadth appeared the same as just over the tops of the houses to the west. I watched it for half an hour, during which time it continued invariably the same. At length to the east I saw it drawing to a point at the horizon and gradually abating in light for four or five degrees upwards. After it seemed to have vanished to that height or rather more, it darted down at short intervals from the luminous part a pointed, quivering stream. Soon after the light began to abate through the whole circle. I did not continue to watch it till it wholly disappeared, as I was indisposed and afraid of catching cold; but I am told it lasted till about half past eleven. I have conversed with a person who saw it at a place about 30 miles north from this city. There it had the same appearance and seemed to pass through the [zenith]. I have written to Philadelphia to know whether it was seen there, but have not yet rec^{d} an answer. The day following was very hot. Monday morning was overcast, but sultry. About 9 o'clock the sun broke out, and it seemed as if we should have a very hot day, but about noon there arose a dark, smoaky vapour which covered the whole heavens, sometimes so thick as to quite hide the sun, sometimes only obscuring it so as to make it appear like a great ball of fire or a dark red full moon. This smoky vapour lasted the whole day, & in the evening there was a smell very much like that from burning green brush wood. Next day the vapour continued, but in a much less degree. Since that we have had two thunder gusts, which have cleared the air, & the northern lights have

disappeared. I mention the circumstances before and after the phenomenon only to point out to you the state of the atmosphere.

I have sometimes had it in contemplation to hazard some thoughts on the general Deluge, & endeavoured by an hypothesis somewhat different from any I have seen to prove not only the possibility but the probability —I had almost said the certainty, of the waters covering the whole earth. But having lately had a cursory reading of an ingenious piece written on the subject by M^r^ Whitehurst, which I dare say you have seen, I should be glad first to know your opinion of his hypothesis and reasoning. And while your thoughts are turned to the subject I wish you to consider what would be the probable effects of a sudden change of the position of the earth, say for instance by an alteration of the poles and inclination of the axis $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, or a change in the annual orbit. I do not mean by this to divert your attention from political subjects, in which I find you have been usefully employed. I have read with much pleasure the two papers containing observations on the transportation of flour and on contraband. I am glad they were written and delivered; for though at present the object is not obtained, yet I am confident if the proper moment is watched & improved the arguments there stated will on some future occasion have due weight & influence. M^rs^ T—— desires to be remembered to you and to your daughter. I am, with unfeigned affection and esteem, Dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

CHAS. THOMSON.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

New York, July 30, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 10 of May and am happy in the opportunity of being serviceable to you

or any of your friends. I shall with pleasure honor the draught of M^r^ Watson or M^r^ Eveleigh, and take care of and forward the seeds and plants as you desire. While on this subject I shall beg leave to mention a circumstance I have heard touching the introducing the native plants of one country into another. The late Duke of Argyle being fond of gardening and desirous of having some of the indigenous plants of America, engaged a captain of a vessel on whom he had conferred some favours, to go, on his arrival in America, into the woods, and after raking off the leaves, to scrape and pare off about a quarter of an inch deep of the surface of the earth, put it into hogsheads and bring it to him. When it arrived he had a bed prepared in his garden and spread the American earth over it to the same depth it was pared off from the native soil. The consequence was, as I have been informed, that there came up next year a number of plants, many of which were quite new in that country and undescribed by any botanical writer.

On the 8^th^ of this month I acknowledged the receipt of your favour of the 22^d^ of April, and troubled you with an account of a singular phenomenon that appeared in our sky on the night of the 1^st^ at the same time with a northern light. I wrote also to you on the 6^th^ of April and acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 8 Oct. I hope my letters have got safe to hand. With the greatest esteem and affection I am, D^r^ Sir, your sincere friend & serv^t^,

CHA. THOMSON.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

New York, Nov. 2, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your several favours of Feb. 8^th^, June 21^st^ and July 14, and also a copy of your notes

by Mr Houdon, for which I am much obliged. It grieves me to the soul that there should be such just grounds for your apprehensions respecting the irritation that will be produced in the Southern States by what you have said of Slavery. However I would not have you discouraged. This is a cancer that we must get rid of. It is a blot in our character that must be wiped out. If it cannot be done by religion, reason and philosophy, confident I am that it will one day be by blood. I confess I am more afraid of this than of the Algerine piracies, or the jealousy entertained of us by European powers of which we hear so much of late. However I have the satisfaction to find that philosophy is gaining ground of selfishness in this respect. If this can be rooted out and our land filled with Freemen, Union preserved, and the spirit of Liberty maintained and cherished, I think in 25 or 30 years we shall have nothing to fear from the rest of the world.

Mr Houdon has been to Mount Vernon and taken the bust of our amiable General. He exhibited it to the view of Congress. It appears to me to be executed in a masterly manner. I acknowledge my want of skill to judge of performances of this nature, but there is in the air and attitude of this something that pleases me. Most other pictures seem to have their attention turned on the objects around them, but in this the artist, by elevating the chin and countenance, has given it the air of one looking forward into futurity. But I will not venture any criticisms for fear of betraying my ignorance. Our good old friend Dr. F. is arrived safe and well, and honored with the chair of President of Pensilva. All parties concurred in the choice. I hope it will be comfortable as it is honorable. As to matters within my circle, they jog on as usual. Though many occurrences have happened which would be subject of conversation, there are few worth troubling you with in a letter. As to public matters, I take it for granted you are well informed

through the proper channels. You see by the Journal that the duties of my office are much enlarged.

I am, with great esteem & regard, Dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servt,

CHA. THOMSON.

TO DOCTOR DAVID RAMSAY.

New York, Nov. 4th, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 25 Septr. by Mr Smith, with six numbers of the manuscript copy of your History. I have read them over with as much attention as my other engagements and frequent avocations would permit. They are now in the hands of Mr King, to whom I communicated your request that he would favour you with his remarks thereon, at least in point of facts. For as to language that must be left to yourself when you come to revise it. As soon as he has done with it I shall commit it to your other friends as you desire, and shall now proceed to give you the thoughts which occurred to me in the cursory perusal I gave it. With respect to language there were some words which did not please, such as *merged* in the ocean, and some phrases which seemed too common to comport with the dignity of history, such as *feeling the pulse* of the people, &c. But these are trifles which I dare say you will correct when you come to revise your work; for I perceive this is the first draught.

As to matters of fact, the Proclamation which you ascribe to Genl Washington upon his first taking the command of the Army was drawn up by Congress. The consideration of it proceeded *pari passu* with the Petition to the King, and was passed by Congress while the petition was engrossing. The truth is there was a considerable opposition to the sending another petition, considering the manner in which the former

had been treated. But several members were warm in favour of it. The matter was compromised, and the petition and declaration were both ordered and passed in a manner together. Your description of the works on Bunker Hill are in my opinion too much exaggerated, and the firing upon the British from the houses in Charlestown is a circumstance which is denied. The account you have given corresponds with that of the enemy.

To save their honor it was necessary to make the works as formidable as possible, and to take off from the odium of burning towns at that early stage of the war it was thought necessary to represent that the Americans fired from the houses. I have conversed with M^r^ Gorham on the subject, and he informs me soon after the Americans set down before Boston, Gen^l^ Gage sent for him and informed him, as an inhabitant of Charlestown, that in case the Americans approached Boston on that side, he would be under the necessity of ordering that town to be burned ; that he could not be justified by the Laws of War to suffer it to stand to cover the approach of the enemy.

This information M^r^ Gorham communicated to Gen^l^ Ward, who then commanded the American forces ; and as it was made known to the inhabitants of the town, as soon as our troops took possession of the Hill, all the inhabitants of the town instantly fled, and left their houses empty. He did not believe there was a single gun fired from any of the houses. From this you see it was a premeditated act justified by the rules of war, and not depending on the firing from the houses. As to the works on Bunker Hill, how was it possible such as are described could be erected in the space of three or four hours? The truth is our people marched over the causeway and took possession of the Hill late at night, instantly broke ground and threw up some slight redoubts of earth. They were discovered at day break, and a detachment was immediately sent to dislodge them. This detachment

landed at a point on the Bay at a considerable distance from the town. Upon seeing the number of our troops on the heights, they halted and sent back for reinforcements. Upon this our troops immediately pulled up the post and rail fences which enclosed the lots between the town and the Bay, and set them down again in two parallel rows at a small distance from each other, extending from the eastern redoubt on the right to the town, and on the left to the Bay. The space between the two lines they filled with hay which had been lately mowed and remained on the lots in cocks. These were the Formidable Works behind which they sheltered themselves and waited the assault of the Enemy. There are, I apprehend, other facts mentioned which will deserve examination, and as truth and precision will be expected from an American, and especially from you who have had so many opportunities of information, I think it would be proper to travel through the several States, to view the scenes of actions and converse with the people who were near them, in order to obtain the fullest information and to form a right judg^{t}. With regard to the account you have given of the manner in which Pennsylvania was engaged to unite in the opposition, I dislike it altogether. The mentioning of names is invidious, as you have dealt in general with regard to the measures adopted in other States. I have therefore cut them out before I let the manuscript go out of my hands. The story of the German is flat and too low for history, and the whole account defective and unsatisfactory. I shall therefore give you a short narrative of what passed without descending to particulars, and leave it with you to mould it in any form you think proper. At the same time I must earnestly entreat you either to alter that part of your History, or to leave it wholly out, passing over Pennsylvania as you have Delaware and Maryland.

Before I proceed to this I would just observe that

there are sundry material circumstances omitted, such as Gage's deep perfidy in disarming the inhabitants of Boston, and also the manner in which our Army was furnished, in the latter end of 1775, with powder, arms, morters, and other Military Apparatus by the fortunate capture of the two store-ships. There is also another circumstance which I think ought to be mentioned in order to explain the mode and account for the rapidity of the news spreading throughout this Country. You must recollect the news of the Boston Port Bill, reached Boston the 10th of May, and in little more than a month it was not only communicated from State to State, but a flame was kindled in most every breast throughout this widely extended, though but thinly inhabited Country. This must appear fabulous to a foreigner who is unacquainted with the situation of our affairs at that time. Would it not therefore be proper, when you are giving an account of this matter, to insert a clause to the following effect in order to explain?

[In order to explain the mode by which the flame was so rapidly spread through this extended and thinly inhabited Country, it is necessary to observe that the several Colonies and Provinces are divided into Counties, & these again subdivided into districts distinguished by the name of towns, townships, hundreds or parishes. In the New England Colonies the subdivisions which are called towns were by the Laws & Constitution of the Government corporate bodies, had their regular meetings and might be occasionally convened by their proper officers. The advantages derived from these meetings by uniting the whole body of the people in the measures taken to oppose the Stamp Act induced other Provinces to imitate the example. Accordingly under the Association which was formed in opposition to the Revenue Laws of 1767, and which lasted for upwards of two years, Committees were established not only in the Capitals of every Prov-

ince, but also in most of the country towns and subordinate districts. In the commencement of the present opposition these Committees had been revised, extended and reduced to system; so that when any intelligence of importance which it was necessary the people at large should be informed of reached the Capital, it was immediately dispatched to the county Committees and by them forwarded to the Committees of the districts, who disseminated it to the whole body of the people. The expenses of expresses when necessary was defrayed by private contributions—and as the persons employed in this service were animated in the Cause, their zeal was a spur to their industry and the news was spread with incredible despatch.]

I shall now proceed to my narrative.

The Com^tt^ of Philadelphia to whom the Public Letter from Boston was sent were fully sensible of the state of parties & disposition of the Province. They saw the dispute with Great Britain brought to a crisis and a new scene opening which required exertions different from those heretofore made. The success of those exertions, they well knew, depended on the wisdom with which they were planned and the union of the whole people to carry them into execution. They resolved, therefore, to proceed with the utmost caution & circumspection. The Letter was publickly read at the coffee house [May 19] and notice was given that it would be read the evening following at the City Tavern, in which there was a large room capable of receiving several hundred persons, and it was expected that the citizens would come prepared to give their opinion on the measures necessary to be taken on the present alarming situation of affairs.

May 20.—At this meeting, which was numerous & composed of leading men of different religious as well as political sentiments, the Letter was again read & the subject of the Acts for shutting up the port of Boston & the plans of the B. Administration were discussed. Agreea-

bly to a plan previously concerted the debate was conducted so as to sound the sentiments of the people, but not to cause divisions or create parties. It seemed to be admitted by all that every Colony as well as Massachusetts was affected by the Act of Parliament, and that the people of Boston should be considered as suffering in the Common Cause of America. As to the means of relief the opinions were various. When the debate began to be warm it was prudently stopped by simply proposing that an answer be returned to the people of Boston. This was unanimously agreed to. A Committee was then to be chosen to draft the answer, and two lists of persons were framed, one containing such as were averse from, the other such as were in favour of active measures. To prevent disputes it was agreed that both should stand, and thus by prudent management unanimity in appearance at least was preserved and a Committee appointed with the concurrence of all. This had a happy effect in tempering immoderate zeal, giving time to prepare the public mind, and suffering matters to ripen gradually. Next day the Com^{tt} met and dispatched an answer to the people of Boston. The letter was firm but temperate. They acknowledged the difficulty in offering advice on the present occasion, sympathized with them in their distress, and observing that all measures for obtaining redress should be first tried; that if the making restitution for the tea destroyed would put an end to this unhappy controversy and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of Constitutional Liberty, it could not admit of a doubt what part they should act. But it was not the value of the tea it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money which was now the matter in consideration; that it was the Common Cause of America, and therefore necessary, in their opinion, that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies should be convened to devise the measures for restoring harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies and prevent-

ing matters from coming to extremities. Till this could be brought about they recommended firmness, prudence and moderation to the immediate sufferers, assuring that the people of Pennsylvania will continue to evince a firm adherence to the Cause of American Liberty.

The Com^tt^ also dispatched the news express to the Provinces southward of them, with a Letter suggesting the necessity of a general Congress of Deputies from all the Provinces.

In order to awaken the attention of the people a series of letters were published well calculated to raise them to a sense of their danger and point out the fatal effect and consequences of the late acts of Parliament and the plans of the British Administration. Every newspaper was filled with these and other pieces on the subject, and with the debate of the members of Parliament on the Bill and the protests of the dissenting Lords. The first of June, the day when the Act began to operate, was solemnized with every manifestation of Public Calamity and Grief. The inhabitants shut up their houses, and after Divine Service a stillness reigned which exhibited a scene of the deepest distress and of sorrow unutterable. [*In the original the following is erased:* "There was a solemn stillness reigned through the City, which seemed a repetition and a sorrow not unlike that described in the book of Esther, which was taken for a text by one of the preachers, upon the issuing of the bloody decree against the Jews: "And in every province whithersoever the King's commandment and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing, and many lay in sackcloth and ashes."]

The minds of the people being thus prepared, the Committee thought it necessary to request the Governor to call the Assembly. For this purpose they drew up a petition stating "that since the recess of the Assembly the proceedings of the British Parlia-

ment towards America, and particularly an Act lately passed against the town of Boston, have filled the minds of the people with deep anxiety and distress; that the petitioners apprehend the design of the Act is to compel the Americans to acknowledge the right of Parliament to impose taxes upon them at pleasure; that the precedent of condemning a whole town or city unheard, and involving all its inhabitant of every age and sex and however differing in political sentiments and action in one common ruin, gives universal alarm; that deeply impressed with these sentiments, and at the same time solicitous to preserve peace, order and tranquility, they earnestly entreat the Governor to call the Assembly of the Province as soon as it can conveniently be done, that they may have an opportunity not only to devise measures to compose and relieve the anxieties of the people, but restore that harmony and peace between the Mother Country and the Colonies which have been of late so much and so unhappily interrupted." This petition was immediately signed by more than 900 free holders and presented to the Governor on the 8th of June. To this the Governor replied "that upon all occasions when the peace, order and tranquility of the Province required it he should be ready to convene the Assembly, but as that did not appear to be the case at present he could not think such a step would be expedient or consistent with his duty." This refusal opened the way for other measures. [*The last sentence is erased in the original.*]

The members of the Com[tt] who advocated the cause of the people of Boston, and who wished to engage the Province to make Common Cause with them, promoted the petition for calling the Assembly, not with an expectation or desire that it should be complied with, but merely to preserve unanimity and to obviate objections which would otherwise be raised against the steps which they judge necessary to be taken to lead the whole Province into a united opposition.

They had at several times intimated to the Com^tt^ the necessity of calling together the freemen of the City & County in order that they might give their opinion on what was proper to be done in the present situation of public affairs. This was always opposed. But such was the ferment raised by the Governor's refusal to call the Assembly that notwithstanding the reluctance of several individuals, the Committee unanimously concurred in the measure, apprehending that further opposition would occasion tumult, and consequently endanger their personal safety.

The meeting was held in the State House yard on the 18^th^ of June, and was very large; by computation the number was estimated at 8,000. To give it the more respectability none were admitted but such as had a right of voting at elections for Representatives. The greatest solemnity, order, and decorum was observed, and the business was managed with such address, both in the preparatory meetings & afterwards, that those who were the most averse seemed to be the principal movers. At this meeting it was unanimously resolved—

1. That the Act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the British Colonies, and therefore they considered their brethren at Boston as suffering in the Common Cause of America.

2. That a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies in North America is the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief from their suffering brethren, securing their common rights and liberties and re-establishing peace and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

3. To appoint a Com^tt^ for the City and County of Philadelphia to correspond with the sister Colonies and with the several Counties in this Province, in order that all may unite in promoting and endeavouring

to obtain the great & valuable ends mentioned in the foregoing resolutions.

4. That the Com^tt consult together, and on mature deliberation determine what is the most proper mode of collecting the sense of this Province, and appointing Deputies for the same to attend a General Congress, and having determined thereon they should take such measures as by them would be judged most expedient for procuring this Province to be represented at the said Congress in the best manner that can be devised for promoting the Public Welfare.

5. That the Com^tt set on foot a subscription for the relief of such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as may be deprived of the means of subsistance by the operation of the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill, the money arising from such subscription to be laid out as the Committee shall think will best answer the ends proposed. They then proceeded to appoint a Committee, and with a view to preserve and promote harmony they selected the members of the former Committee, adding such a number of new members as to give a decided majority in favour of the measures now agreed on. The Com^tt, which consisted of 43 members, met and determined that the Speaker of the Assembly be desired to write to the several members & request them to meet as soon as possible, and not later than the first of August, to take into consideration the very alarming situation of affairs, and secondly that letters be written to proper persons in each County recommending it to them to get Committees appointed for their respective Counties, and that the said Committee, or such number of them as may be thought proper, may meet in Philadelphia at the time the Representatives are convened, in order to consult and advise on the most expedient mode of appointing Deputies for the General Congress, and to give their weight to such as may be appointed. The reason of their second determination was their not having a sufficient confidence in the members who then

composed the House of Assembly, and more particularly in the Speaker, whose influence was great but whose attachment to the Cause of his Country was even then suspected, whose conduct afterwards proved the suspicions were well founded. They were apprehensive that if the members met they might be induced to take advantage of the irregularity of the call & of their not being convened in their legislative capacity, & therefore break up without appointing Delegates. In this case it was intended to have another body convened expressly for the purpose, who should proceed to the appointment. Application was accordingly made to the Speaker, who agreed to comply with the request of the Committee. But this was rendered unnecessary by the Governor's issuing a proclamation, on account of some Indian disturbances, for the Assembly to meet in their legislative capacity on Monday, the 18th July. It may not be improper to observe that though the Assembly of Pennsylvania, agreeably to the Charter and Laws of the Province, met every year on a certain day and afterwards on their own adjournment, yet in case of any emergency during their recess the Governor had a right & power of convening them and they were bound to obey his call.

Notwithstanding this call of the Governor the Comtt judged it necessary to proceed on the second determination, and accordingly on the 28th of June wrote to each of the Counties, enclosing copies of the Resolutions passed at the meeting of the 18th & the determinations they had come to in pursuance of the trust reposed in them; informed them of the meeting of the Assembly and requested that a whole or a part of the Comtt appointed or to be appointed would meet the other Committees at Philadelphia on the 15th July, in order to assist in framing instructions and preparing such matters as might be proper to recommend to their Representatives at their meeting on the Monday following.

With this request the several Counties readily com-

plied, and the Deputies met at the time appointed. Previous to their meeting the Committee for the City & County of Philadelphia had made such preparations that the business was soon dispatched.

The Convention being assembled & having chosen a Chairman & Clerk, it was agreed that in case of any difference of sentiment the question should be determined by the Deputies voting by Counties. The letters from Boston of the 13th of May were then read, and a short account given of the steps taken in consequence thereof, and the measures now pursuing in this and the neighbouring Provinces, after which the following Resolutions were passed:

1. That we acknowledge ourselves and the inhabitants of this Province liege subjects of His Maty King G. the 3, to whom they & we owe & will bear true & faithful allegiance.

2. That as the idea of an unconstitutional independence on the parent State is utterly abhorrent to our principles, we view the unhappy differences between G. B. & the Colonies with the deepest distress and anxiety of mind as fruitless to her, grievous to us & destructive of the best interests of both.

3. That it is therefore our ardent desire that our ancient harmony with the Mother Country should be restored, and a perpetual love & union subsist between us on the principles of the Constitution & an interchange of good offices without the infraction of our mutual rights.

4. That the inhabitants of these Colonies are entitled to the same rights within these Colonies that the subjects born in England are entitled to within that realm.

5. That the power assumed by the Parliament of G. B. to bind the people of these Colonies "by statutes in all cases whatsoever" is unconstitutional & therefore the source of these unhappy differences.

6. That the Act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the

inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British Colonies, & therefore that we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the Common Cause of these Colonies.

7. That the Bill for altering the administration of Justice in certain criminal cases within the Province of Massachusetts Bay, if passed into an Act of Parliament will be unconstitutional, oppressive & dangerous as the Act above mentioned.

8. The Bill for changing the Constitution of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, established by Charter & enjoyed since the grant of the Charter, if passed into an Act of Parliament will be unconstitutional & dangerous in its consequences to the American Colonies.

9. That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies be immediately assembled, to consult together and form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the Colonies for the purposes of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of our grievances, preventing future dissensions, firmly establishing our rights and restoring harmony between G. B. and the Colonies on a constitutional foundation.

10. That although a suspension of the Commerce of this large trading Province with G. B. would greatly distress multitudes of our industrious inhabitants, yet that sacrifice and a much greater we are ready to offer for the preservation of our Liberties, but in tenderness to the people of G. B. as well as of our country, and in hopes that our just remonstrance will at length reach the ears of our gracious Sovereign & will no longer be treated with Contempt by any of our fellow subjects in England, it is our earnest desire that the Congress should first try the gentler mode of stating our grievances and making a firm and devout Claim of Redress.

The foregoing were passed unanimously.

11. Resolved, that by a great majority, that yet notwithstanding as an unanimity of councils & measures is indispensably necessary for the common welfare,

if the Congress shall judge agreements of non-importation & non-exportation expedient, the people of this Province will join with the other principal and neighboring Colonies in such an Association of non-importation from & non-exportation to G. B. as shall be agreed on by the Congress.

12. Resolved by a majority, that if any proceedings of the Parliament of—— which notice shall be received on this Continent before or at the General Congress shall render it necessary, in the opinion of that Congress, for the Colonies to take farther steps than are mentioned in the eleventh resolve, in such case the inhabitants of this Province shall adopt such farther [steps] and do all in their power to carry them into execution.

The following were passed unanimously:

13. That the venders of merchandize of every kind within this Province ought not to take advantage of the resolve relating to non-importation in this Province or else where, but that they ought to sell their merchandize which they now have or may hereafter import at the same rates they have been accustomed to do within three months last past.

14. That the people of this Province will break off all trade, commerce & dealing, & will have no trade, commerce or dealing of any kind with any Colony on this Continent, or with any City or town in such Colony, or with any individual in such Colony, City or town which shall refuse, decline or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as shall be agreed to in Congress.

15. That it is the duty of every member of this Com^{tt} to promote as much as he can the subscription set on foot in the several Counties of this Province for the Relief of the distressed inhabitants of Boston.

16. That this Com^{tt} give instructions on the present situation of public affairs to their Representatives who are to meet next week in Assembly, and request them to appoint a certain number of persons to attend a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies, at such

time and place as may be agreed on, to effect one general plan of conduct for attaining the great and important ends mentioned in the 9th resolve.

Grounded on these Resolutions they prepared a set of instructions which on the 21st July were signed by their Chairman and presented by them in a body to the Assembly then sitting.

These instructions were bold, animated and pathetic. They not only pointed out the cause of the present uneasiness and recommended the appointment of persons to attend a General Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies for the purpose of promoting and establishing harmony between G. B. and the Colonies on a Constitutional foundation, but proceeded to delineate the measures that appeared most likely to produce that effect and the terms of a Compact to be settled between the two Countries so as to put a final period to the unconstitutional Claims of the one and the fears and jealousies of the other.

(As this is a curious paper and contains the sentiments which then prevailed in that Province, it may either be abridged or inserted at full length. I therefore enclose a copy of it.) (a).

Deputies were accordingly appointed by the Legislature, and thus without tumult, without disorder or divided councils, the whole Province was by prudent management and temperate proceedings brought into the opposition with its whole weight and influence. I shall trouble you no farther at present than just to request you to alter the sentence respecting my appointment to the office of secretary and let it stand simply, "Charles Thomson, of Philadelphia," striking out what is said respecting the part I took in the conduct of affairs in Pennsylvania, I am, &c.

C. T.

(a) For all these resolves, instructions, and the paper referred to by Mr Thomson, see Dickinson's *Political Writings*, Vol I., pp. 285–416. Originally printed at Philadelphia in 1774, they were republished at Wilmington in 1801. The "curious paper" was an Essay on the Constitutional power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America.

From Thomas Jefferson.

Paris, Dec^{r} 17th, 1786.

Dear Sir,

A dislocation of my right wrist has for three months past disabled me from writing except with my left hand, which was too slow and awkward to be employed but in cases of necessity. I begin to have so much use of my wrist as to be able to write, but it is slowly and in pain. I take the first moment I can, however, to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of Aug. 6, July 8 and 30. In one of these you say you have not been able to learn whether in the new mills in London steam is the immediate mover of the machinery or raises water to move it. It is the immediate mover. The power of this agent, tho' long known, is but now beginning to be applied to the various purposes of which it is susceptible. You observe that Whitehurst supposes it to have been the agent which, bursting the earth, threw it up into mountains and vallies. You ask me what I think of his book. I find in it many interesting facts brought together, and many ingenious commentaries on them, but there are great chasms in his facts, and consequently in his reasoning; these he fills up with suppositions which may be as reasonably denied as granted. A sceptical reader, therefore, like myself, is left in the lurch. I acknowledge, however, he makes more use of fact than any other writer of a theory of the earth. But I give one answer to all theorists—that is as follows: they all suppose the earth a created existence; they must suppose a Creator, then, and that he possessed power and wisdom to a great degree. As he intended the earth for the habitation of animals and vegetables, is it reasonable to suppose he made two jobs of his Creation? That he first made a chaotic lump and set it into . . . motion, and then, waiting the . . . . ages necessary to form itself—that when it had done this he

stepped in a second time to create the animals and plants which were to inhabit it? As a hand of a Creator is to be called in it may as well be called in at one stage of the process as another. We may as well suppose he created the earth at once nearly in the state in which we see it—fit for the preservation of the beings he placed on it. But it is said we have a proof that he did not create it in its solid form, but in a state of fluidity, because its present shape of an oblate spheroid is precisely that which a fluid mass revolving on its axis would assume; but I suppose the same equilibrium between gravity and centrifugal force which would determine a fluid mass into the form of an oblate spheroid would determine the wise Creator of that mass, if he made it in a solid state, to give it the same spheroidical form. A revolving fluid will continue to change its shape till it attains that in which its principles of contrary motion are balanced; for if you suppose them not balanced it will change its form. Now the same balanced form is necessary for the preservation of a revolving solid. The Creator, therefore, of a revolving solid would make it an oblate spheroid, that figure alone admitting a perfect equilibrium. He would make it in that form for another reason; that is, to prevent a shifting of the axis of rotation. Had he created the earth perfectly spherical its axis might have been perpetually shifting by the influence of the other bodies of the system, and by placing the inhabitants of the earth successively under its poles it might have been depopulated; whereas being spheroidical it has but one axis on which it can revolve in equilibrio. Suppose the axis of the earth to shift 45°, then cut it in 180 slices, making every section in the plane of a circle of latitude perpendicular to the axis: every one of these slices except the equatorial one would be unbalanced, as there would be more matter on one side of its axis than on the other. There could be but one diameter drawn through such a slice which would divide it into two

equal parts; on every other possible diameter the parts would hang unequal; this would produce an irregularity in the diurnal rotation. We may therefore conclude it impossible for the poles of the earth to shift if it was made spheroidically, and that it would be made spheroidical, tho' solid, to obtain this end. I use this reasoning only on the supposition that the earth has had a beginning. I am sure I shall read your conjectures on this subject with great pleasure, tho' I bespeak before hand a right to indulge my natural incredulity and scepticism. The pain in which I write awakes me here from my reverie and obliges me to conclude with compliments to M^rs^ Thomson and assurances to yourself of the esteem and affection with which I am, Dear Sir, your friend and servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

P. S. Since writing the preceding I have had a conversation on the subject of the steam mills with the famous Boulton, to whom those of London belong and, who is here at this time. He compares the effect of steam with that of horses in the following manner: 6 horses, aided with the most advantageous combination of the mechanical powers hitherto tried will grind 6 bushels of flour in an hour, at the end of which time they are all in a foam & must rest. They can work thus 6 horses in the 24, grinding 36 bushels of flour, which is six to each horse for the 24 hours. His steam mill in London consumes 120 bushels of coal in 24 hours, turns 10 prs of stones which grind 8 bushels of flour an hour each, which is 1920 bushels in the 24 hours. This makes a peck and a half of coal perform exactly as much as a horse in one day can perform.

From John Cleves Symmes.

Louisville, the 4th of Febry, A. D., 1787.

Dear Sir,

Sequestered as I am this winter in a remote corner of Virginia, where not a word, not a syllable can reach me from your metropolis, it is but reasonable that you allow me, notwithstanding, the privilege of thinking and writing; and since nothing transpires to us of what you are about at New York, it is as impossible to address a line to you on the subject of government or gallantry as it would be to detail to you what our friends are about in the other world. I must therefore entertain you, if I write to you at all, with such matter as I have collected since I have been in the country, and which may perhaps be in some measure new to you. It is unnecessary for me to observe that Doctor Robertson tells us in his History of South America that the natives of Mexico, according to their own story or tradition, when the Spaniards took possession of their Country, were originally strangers from some territory north or north west of Mexico, who migrated thither about the tenth century, bringing with them some of the Arts of Civilization; but the Doctor makes no conjecture, if I recollect right, as to the particular Country from whence the first of those emigrants came. He adds that some time after the first strangers arrived another tribe came from the Coast of California, still more improved than the former. Every tribe of these strangers possessed in a much higher degree the Arts, & were more civilized than the other and more ancient inhabitants of New Spain. You also know, Sir, that it has long been settled and fully agreed by all the travellers into these parts, as well Indian as American, that the ancient inhabitants of the banks of the Ohio and many other streams which discharge themselves through the Mississippi, have for some centuries past wholly disappeared, and that the present race of sav-

ages found on these waters are not the descendants of that ancient race, but are a generation of men wholly unlike the former in their manners and customs, whose more warlike ancestors exterminated from these delightful abodes these ancient and more civil inhabitants. Now, Sir, if I can shew you with some plausibility whence the Mexican strangers came from and where the expelled nations of this Country fled to, I think I shall fix two questions of some curiosity and importance among the Literati, and I hope it will not fail to afford you some amusement in a leisure hour.

In doing this, Sir, I expect that you will make me some little abatement as to the particular time when and the manner how these revolutions were effected, or the cause which gave rise to such memorable events; for tho' I begin to feel myself growing wild and verging fast towards the savage so far as ignorance, idleness and the wants of the comforts of life form the condition and character of an Indian, yet I have not made such proficiency in necromancing as yet to be able to conjure up the ancient dead to instruct me in these particulars. In order that I may proceed herein with more method, I shall state, as near as my memory serves, some of the leading traits which I shall have occasion to comment upon at present in the character of the people found by the Spaniards in the Mexican Empire and some other countries of South America, but in doing this I must beg leave to refer you to his History in general, for I am not able without the book to point out the pages or his express words. I remember he tells us: 1st, that their temples were pyramids of earth, sometimes faced near the bottom with stone; 2d, that they offered human sacrifices to their Gods; 3rd, that their houses were composed of sod and stones; 4th, that they dwelt in irregular towns, every citizen placing his house where he pleased; 5th, that some of their kitchen utensils consisted of earthen vessels, or pots, wherewith they used to cook their food; and 6th, that when any chief

or great man died, several of his inferiors or dependants were put to death and buried in the same tomb. Have a little patience, Sir, and I will shew you that in all these particular characteristics the ancient inhabitants of this part of America were exactly the same people, as far as manners, customs and usages can assimilate and render them the same, with those who found their way into the Mexican territory about the tenth century. I shall pursue the same order as above.

1st. Extraordinary temples to be seen so entire at Grave Creek, together with some others less known to the public found in different parts of the country, are exactly correspondent to the Mexican temples. Permit me here to observe that none of these temples are found north or east of Pittsburg. 2d. Human bones are found in the greatest abundance in and near all such temples or piles of earth. These are the bones of the victims offered in their pious sacrifices. 3rd. The ancient inhabitants of this Country certainly built their dwelling houses of earth and stones. I have met with several incontestable proofs of this. I will mention one. Near the banks of the Monongahela I was shown the ground whereon a town of some consideration, tho' dispeopled so long since that the largest trees & those of some hundred years existence (for the age of a tree may ke known with great certainty until its decay takes place) had stood as thickly planted throughout the plot as in any other part of the surrounding woods; but the place is in some measure cleared at present and lays in a wheat stubble field, tho' many of the dead trees are yet standing. Here I clearly traced out the old wall or mound of earth with which the whole had been enclosed. It contained in its area about 8 or ten acres, in which were plainly to be seen the vestiges or remains of their houses, every one of which appeared to have been built of stone and earth, the stones still remaining scattered round. Rising spots swelled about a foot above the common surface of the ground, which

must have been occasioned by the crumbling to pieces and falling around of the sods which made apart of the house. Any combustible matter, as wood or thatch, would not have raised the earth to such a degree, even tho' it had escaped an early consumption by fire. 4th. The irregularity which appeared in the order of building the town tallies exactly with the Doctor's description of the Mexican towns. Tho the houses had been many, considering the small spot of ground which the town occupied, yet no order or uniformity appeared to have been observed by the builders. Every house had been raised according to the liking of its owner, without regard to his neighbour. 5th. In the same town many fragments of earthen pots or vessels were to be found buried a little in the earth and scattered round on its surface. I brought some off with me and have examined as well as I can of what materials they were formed. They appear to be a composition partly of mussel shells, which are found in these rivers, powdered fine, but not burnt so as altogether to slack into lime, for many of the particles thereof seem to retain their original transparency or shining appearance, much resembling isinglass. This ingredient makes but a small proportion of the whole: by far the greatest part appeared to have been a rotten stone pulverized, a kind of black sand tempered to a mortar in which the dust of the mussel shells were intermixed, and the whole moulded into round vessels of different dimensions and dryed in the sun, for there did not appear to be any effect of an intense heat of fire upon the pots or fragments—such as being glazed in the manner we often see bricks that are highly burned whose ends project into the arch of the kiln. Of these vessels the former Inhabitants made great use, as they are met with all over this Country, especially at some of the salt licks where it is inferred that they used to boil in them the brackish water that oozes out of the earth at those places, and therefrom extract salt. The modern Indian, in every known part of

North America, makes no use of such an article of earthen ware of their own manufacture, tho its importance to a savage must be acknowledged, and the art of making them can hardly be supposed to be lost by those tribes who had ever been masters of it. 6th. Wherever there is found a grave of uncommon size, and larger than ordinary, I am told that on opening it they meet with many human bones which must have belonged to several persons. The vulgar opinion of the people of the Country is that near such a grave there has happened a conflict of two contending parties, and that the slain were deposited in a common grave, which occasioned the number of bones and the magnitude of the pile. This opinion must be erroneous, as it was never known that conquering savages took the pains to bury those of their enemies which they had killed in battle. If they had done this they would not have deposited them in the same tomb with their friends, and two of these large Graves are never found together. The vanquished could not bury any one because they must fly the field of Battle. The victors would never have crowded their deceased friends promiscuously into one pit; the Indians have always buried their dead with great solemnity and decorum. The deceased must sit upright in his grave, have his arms laid by his side, his provisions must be prepared and served to him, and throughout the whole there must be order and precaution; but what order could there be in throwing all of every rank and distinction—the general and the private soldier—indiscriminately into one grave? On the other hand if we may suppose that some great personage lies interred in state in one of those distinguished repositories of the dead, and that the other human relics that are found therein, are the bones of such as were born to a more humble station in life, and destin'd to a tragical exit, perhaps by them deemed honourable, being put to death that they might accompany their Chief or Lord into the other world as his guards or attendants—in this case it was certainly

wise and proper, in the savage acceptation of the future state of their dead, that they should be stationed around him, as near to his person as they could conveniently be placed, that they might be at hand should their Chief be apprized of danger and within their master's call should he need their menial services. Now, Sir, let me ask if you believe, as I verily do, that the ancient inhabitants of this Country, when expelled, fled to New Spain, where they planted themselves anew? How could they get there? say you. Why, Sir, nothing is more plain and natural. When the Northern and more savage nations made long and successful wars upon them, they disputed the ground inch by inch against their Enemies. Their laudable struggle and patriotism appear very evidently from the numerous lines of fortifications, forts, and strongholds, that remain in many parts of the Country, for it is well known that the modern Indians of North America never fortify.

Captain Carver tells us of a very remarkable intrenchment on the banks of the Mississippi. General Butler lately entertained me when at Pittsburgh, with the description of another celebrated work of that kind which he had seen, if I remember, on the waters of the Muskingum. Many other Gentlemen have given accurate descriptions of other strong works to be met with all over this Country, and which, in point of art and judgment, as to the choice of ground and construction in point of defence, would do honor to an European engineer. But when all these works proved insufficient to sustain them against their victorious invaders they, like Eneas with the Trojans before them at the sack of Troy, threw themselves on the waters of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and with their canoes went down the stream to the sea, and continued their route coasting along the shore to the bottom of Mexican Gulf, where they again planted and spread themselves, not unlike a willow washed up from its native soil by an over-bearing flood of water submitting to its fate,

gliding unresisting down the stream to some distant shore where the torrent subsides and the waves roll gently: there resting its self on some bank which presents, it refixes in the yielding soil, grows and spreads its odours round in majesty and beauty till some rude hand like another Spaniard cuts up the flower, despoils the plant which had shielded his head from gay noon, and lays its verdure withering in the dust. So far, Sir, by way of sally. What remains concerns me more nearly; as the safe conveyance of the enclosed letter to M^r^ Morris is of importance to me I have taken the liberty to enclose it to you, knowing that the respect paid to your name by every class of people through whose hands these may pass on their way to New York will afford safety and passage thereto. I beg, Sir, that you will be so kind as to send the enclosed over to M^r^ Morris; he lives at the next door to the City Hall. My most respectful Compliments to M^rs^ Thomson, I beg, Sir, you will do me the honor to present.

I have not as yet heard who is your President, or who you have in Congress from New Jersey. I beg you will inform me as to both if you can find time and inclination to honor me with a line.

The Bedford and Pittsburg route is the best conveyance to the falls of the Ohio. But lest I trespass to much on your patience, the ink now in my pen shall draw the signature of him who is, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, Dear Sir, your most obedient very humble servant,

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

Hon^ble^ Chas. Thomson, Esquire.

To Thomas Jefferson.

New York, April 28th, 1787.

Dear Sir,

On the 30th July, 1786, I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 10th May, wherein you informed me that a botanical friend of yours had written to Charleston for a number of plants and seeds which were to be sent to me, and forwarded to you by the packet. I heard no more of this matter till yesterday, when Capt. Latham delivered me the letter and invoice of which I enclose a copy, and informed me the boxes were on board ready to be delivered. I sent immediately to the French Consul to know if the packet was gone. Unfortunately it had sailed the day before. As I am obliged to leave town in a day or two and expect to be some weeks absent, I consulted Mr Otto, who was so obliging as to take charge of the boxes and promises to send them by the next packet. And I have requested the favour of him, in case the other box by Capt. Tinker arrives before the packet sails to receive and send it also.

I have received your favour of the 17 Dec. last and am very sorry to hear of your misfortune. I hope before this time you have perfectly recovered the use of your wrist.

In referring you to Mr Whitehurst, I did not mean to recommend him as an author on which you were to build your faith. But I think you will give him credit for solving some of the objections started by other theorists against the universality of the deluge; and for accounting, with a great deal of ingenuity, for the present appearances and irregularities on the face of our globe. This eruption will tolerably well account for the oblique position of the strata of rocks, which is observable in most parts of the world. But what are we to think of their horizontal position in our western country? Mr Hutchins, the Geographer General, as

well as every other intelligent observer who has been in that country assert this to be the case. Are we to suppose that the surface of the earth in that part of our globe was never broken up? A gentleman now in that country, lately wrote to me and after mentioning the tradition, which Doct. Robertson says prevailed among the old Mexicans, that their ancestors came from the northward about the 10th century, has endeavoured to shew, from relicks still remaining, that they went from the country bordering on the Ohio. For want of something more entertaining I send you an extract of his letter, and am, with sincere esteem & affection, Dear Sir, your most obedient & humble Servt,

CHA. THOMSON.

TO THE SAME.

Philadelphia, June 6, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

Having come to this place on account of some private business, I have been waited on by Mr J. Churchman, native of this commonwealth, who flatters himself that he has made a discovery which will be of great public utility, in short nothing less than an easy & certain mode of ascertaining the longitude, by what is commonly called the variation of the compass. He offered to explain to me the principles of his discovery; but as disquisitions of this nature are out of my line, and as the business on which I have come here would not admit of my paying attention to the subject, I have referred him to others more conversant than I am in matters of this kind.

Wishing to submit the matter to your consideration, he has requested me to accompany the letter and piece he means to send you, with a few lines recommending his scheme to your attentive perusal, and if you shall find his principles well founded, his deductions justly drawn, and the result such as he flatters himself it is,

that you will, as far as you think proper, favour him with your countenance in perfecting his system and endeavouring to obtain the rewards promised for the discovery. With great respect and regard, I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, your most obd^{t} and most humble serv^{t},

CHA. THOMSON.

The hon^{ble} Thomas Jefferson.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, Sep. 20, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

Your favour of April 28 did not come to hand till the 1st inst. Unfortunately the boxes of plants, which were a day to late to come by the April Packet, missed the Packet of June 10 & only came by that of July 25. They are not arrived at Paris, but I expect them daily. I am sensible of your kind attention to them, and that as you were leaving New York you took the course which bade best; that they were forgotten in the hands which you placed them was probably owing to much business & more important. I have desired M^{r} Madison to refund to you the money you were so kind as to advance for me. The delay of your letter will apologise for this delay of the repayment. I thank you also for the extract of the letter you were so kind as to communicate to me on the antiquities found in the western Country. I wish the persons who go thither would make very exact descriptions of what they see of that kind without forming any theories. The moment a person forms a theory his imagination sees in every object only the traits that favour that theory; but it is too early to form theories on those antiquities, we must wait with patience till more facts are collected. I wish our philosophical societies would collect exact descriptions of

the several monuments as yet known and insert them, naked, in their Transactions, and continue their attention to those hereafter to be discovered. Patience & observation may enable us in time to solve the problem whether those who formed the scattering monuments in our western Country were colonies sent off from Mexico or the founders of Mexico itself; whether both were the descendants or the progenitors of the Asiatic red men. The Mexican tradition mentioned by D^r^ Robertson is an evidence, but a public one, in favour of the one opinion—the number of Languages radically different is a strong evidence in favour of the contrary one. There is an American by the name of Ledyard, he who was with Captain Cook on his last voyage, & wrote an account of that voyage, who is gone to Petersburg; from thence he was to go to the Kamschatka, to cross over thence to the north west coast of America & to penetrate through the main continent to our side of it. He is a person of ingenuity and information; unfortunately he has too much imagination; however, if he escapes he will give us new, various, and useful information. I had a letter from him dated last March, when he was about to leave St. Petersburg on his way to Kamschatka.

With respect to the inclination of the strata of rocks I had observed them between the Blue Ridge & North Mountain in Virginia to be parallel with the pole of the earth. I observed the same thing in most instances in the Alps, between Nice and Turin, but in returning along the precipices of the Apennines, where they hang over the Mediterranean, their direction was totally different & various, and you mention that in our western Country they are horizontal. This variety proves they have not been formed by subsidence as some writers of theories of the earth have pretended —for then they should always have been in circular strata & concentric. It proves, too, that they have not been formed by the rotation of the earth on its axis, as might have been suspected had all these

strata been parallel with that axis. They may indeed have been thrown up by explosions, as Whitehurst supposes, or have been the effect of convulsions. But there can be no proof of their explosion, nor is it probable that convulsions have deformed every spot of the earth; it is now generally believed that rock grows, and it seems that it grows in layers in every direction, as the branches of trees grow in all directions, they seek further the solution of this phenomenon. Everything in nature decays, if it were not reproduced then by growth there would be a chasm. I remember you asked me in a former letter whether the steam mill in London was turned by the steam immediately—or by the intermediate agency of water raised by the steam. When I was in London Bolton made a secret of this mill; therefore I was permitted to see it only superficially. I saw no water wheels, and therefore supposed none. I answered you accordingly that there was none, but when I was at Nismes I went to see the steam mill there, and they shewed it to me in all its parts. I saw that their steam raised water, and that this water turned a wheel. I exprëssed my doubts of the necessity of the inter-agency of water & that the London was without it, but they supposed me mistaken. Perhaps I was so. I have had no opportunity since of clearing up the doubt.

We are here on the eve of great events. The contest of Holland seemed to render war probable, but it has actually begun in another quarter between the Turks and Russians. The desertion of antient friends by the King of Prussia seems to render it necessary for them to seek new connections—new ones offer themselves and I really suppose the offer will be accepted. A confederacy between France and the two empires may give Law to the world. If it takes place the patriots of Holland will be saved, and the Turks expelled Europe. Constantinople, it is thought, will fall to the Empress of Russia, who, it is said, does not mean it as a dependence on her Empire, but to make

a separate kingdom of it for a younger son—thus we may live to see the Greeks re-established as a people and the language of Homer again a living Language. Little will be wanting to amend the modern into antient Greek. It is supposed that the Mediterranean islands and Egypt would suit France well; the latter as the means of drawing the trade of the East Indies through the Red Sea. Learning and cultivation will gain by the success of these projects, but it is first to be doubted whether they are seriously proposed, and then whether they may not be baffled by some event too small to be foreseen. I had a Letter from M^r^ Churchman, but not developing his plan of knowing the Longitude fully, I wrote what was doubted about it so far as we could conjecture what it was. I am, with very great and sincere esteem,

Dear Sir, your friend and Servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1788.

DEAR OLD FRIEND,

Inclos'd I send a Letter to the President of Congress for the time being, which if you find nothing improper in it, or that in regard for me you would wish changed or amended, I would request you to present. I rely much on your friendly counsel, as you must be better acquainted with persons and circumstances than I am; and I suppose there will be time enough before the new Congress is formed to make any alterations you may advise, tho' if presented at all it should be to the old one.

In the copy of my letter to M^r^ Barclay, you may observe that mention is made of some considerable "Articles which I have not charged in my accounts "with Congress, but on which I should expect from "their equity some consideration." That you may

have some information what those articles are, I enclose a sketch of my services to the United States wherein you will find mention of the extra services I performed, that do not appertain to the office of Plenipotentiary, viz.: as Judge of Admiralty, as Consul before the arrival of Mr Barclay, as Banker in examining and accepting the multitude of Bills of Exchange, and as Secretary for several years, none being sent to me, tho other ministers were allowed such assistance. I must own I did hope that as it is customary in Europe to make some liberal provision for ministers when they return home from foreign service, during which their absence is necessarily injurious to their private affairs, the Congress would at least have been kind enough to have shewn their approbation of my conduct by a grant of some small tract of Land in their Western Country, which might have been of use and some honour to my Posterity. And I cannot but still think they will do some thing of the kind for me, whenever they shall be pleased to take my services into consideration, as I see by their minutes that they have allowed Mr Lee handsomely for his service in England before his appointment to France, in which service I and Mr Bollan co-operated with him, and have had no such allowance, and since his return he has been very properly rewarded with a good place, as well as my friend Mr Jay—tho' these are trifling compensations in comparison with what was granted by the King to Mr Gerard on his return from America. But how different is what has happened to me!

On my return from England the Congress bestowed on me the office of Post Master General, for which I was very thankful. It was indeed an office I had some kind of right to, as having previously greatly enlarged the Revenue of the Post by the Regulations I had contrived and established while I possessed it under the Crown. When I was sent to France I left it in the hands of my Son-in-Law, who was to act as my Deputy. But soon after my departure it was

taken from me and given to Mr Hazard. When the English Ministry formerly thought fit to deprive me of the office; they left me, however, the privilege of receiving & sending my letters free of postage, which is the custom when a Postmaster is not displaced for malfeasance in the office. But in America I have ever since had the postage demanded of me, which since my return from France has amounted to about £50, much of it occasioned by my having acted as Minister there. When I took my grandson, W. T. Franklin, with me to France, I purposed, after giving him the French language, to educate him in the study and practice of the Law. But by the repeated expectation given me of a Secretary and constant disappointment, I was induced and indeed obliged to retain him with me to assist in the Secretary's office, which disappointments continued till my return, by which time so many years of the opportunity of his studying the Law were lost, and his habits of life became so different that it appeared no longer advisable, and I then, considering him as brought up in the diplomatic line and well qualified by his knowledge in that branch for the employ of a Secretary at least (in which opinion I was not alone, for three of my colleagues, without the smallest solicitation from me, chose him Secretary of the Commission for Treaties, which they had been empowered to do), I took the liberty of recommending him to the Congress for their protection. This was the only favour I ever asked of them, and the only answer I received was a Resolution superceding him and appointing Col. Humphreys in his place—a gentleman tho' he might have indeed a good deal of military merit, certainly had none in the diplomatic line, and had neither the French language or the experience or the address proper to qualify him in preference for such an employment.

This is all to yourself only as a private friend, for I have not nor ever shall make any public complaint; and even if I could have foreseen such unkind treatment

from Congress as their refusing me their thanks would it in the least have abated my zeal for the Cause and ardour in support of it. For I know something of the nature of such changeable Assemblies, and how little successors are inform'd of the services that have been rendered to the Corps before their admission or feel themselves obliged for such services, and what effect in obliterating a sense of them, during the absence of the servant in a distant Country, the artful and reiterated malevolent insinuations of one or two envious and malicious persons may have on the minds of members, even of the most equitable, candid and honourable dispositions. Therefore I would pass these reflections into oblivion. By the way, can you inform me what became of two founts of Scripto Types of mine which were used in printing the Congress Paper money? I do not find them here, and they cost me forty pounds sterling. I lent too to the Board of War, a collection of precedents used in the British offices, which I have been told were lost in the removal to Baltimore. Do you know whether they have ever been recovered? They cost me 10 guineas.

When I was sent to France, I put all the cash I could raise into the loan office. The paper was then of equal value with gold or silver, and indeed part of it had been received from Congress in discharge of a sum in gold which I had advanc'd to the Army in Canada. I see by the Minutes of Nov. 18th, 1782, that Mr Lee's Certificates were ordered to be paid in sterling, at the rate of 4/6 a dollar. I suppose there must have been some circumstances attending his Certificates which intitled them to such favour, and I wish to know what they were. My Certificates, I am told, are now worth but about a sixth part of my original loan.

My good friend, excuse, if you can, the trouble of this Letter, and if the reproach thrown on Republicks, that they are apt to be ungrateful, should ever unfortunately be verified with respect to your services, re-

member you have a right to unbosom yourself in communicating your griefs to

Your affectionate ancient friend & most obed. humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO ROBERT MORRIS.

New York, April 7th, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I cannot express the anxiety I feel on the determination I had taken to retire to private life, while so many of my friends whom I love and esteem express such an earnest desire that I should continue in a public line. I am afraid they rate my abilities too high. Sure I am they rate them much higher than I do myself, and more than they deserve. But such as they are, to shew that I am not unwilling to devote them to the Public Service, I will make this proposition: That the keeping of the Great Seal, with the duties thereto annexed & to be annexed, & the custody and care of the papers, which belonged to the late Congress, be committed to me, this office to be made the depository of the Acts, Laws and Archives of Congress; that the same salary be continued to me which the late Congress granted me, & my stile be Secretary of the Senate and of the United States or Congress; & besides necessary clerks I be allowed a Deputy, who if it be the pleasure of the Senate, may be nominated or appointed by themselves, to do the ordinary business of the House, so that I may not be under the necessity of attending except on special occasions and when the great business of the Nation is under deliberation. If this proposition be approved by the Senate and acceptable I am ready to serve them to the utmost of my power, at least till the present Government be organized & begin to take its due . . . . If otherwise, I must pursue my first determination and retire

to the private walk, but with an anxious wish and most earnest prayer that the measures of the present Government may prove effectual to secure the tranquillity and promote the happiness and glory of the United States.

With sentiments of the most sincere esteem and respect I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, your most obedient & most humble Servt,

Chas Thomson.

Hon^ble R. Morris.

From George Washington.

July 24, 1789.

Sir,

I have contemplated your note, wherein after mentioning your having served in quality of Secretary of Congress from the first meeting of that Body in 1774 to the present time, through an eventful period of almost fifteen years, you announce your wish to return to private life, and I have to regret that the period of my coming again into public life should be exactly that in which you are about to retire from it.

The present age does so much justice to the unsullied reputation with which you have always conducted yourself in the execution of the duties of your office, and posterity will find your name so honourably connected with the verification of such a multitude of astonishing facts, that my single suffrage would add little to the illustration of your merits. Yet I cannot withhold any just testimonial in favour of so old, so faithful and so able a public officer which might tend to sooth his mind in the shade of retirement. Accept, then, this serious declaration, that your services have been important as your patriotism was distinguished; and enjoy that best of all rewards, the consciousness of having done your duty well. You will be pleased, Sir, to deliver the books, records and papers of the late

Congress, the Great Seal of the Federal Union, and the Seal of the Admiralty, to M^r^ Roger Alden, the late Deputy Secretary of Congress, who is requested to take charge of them until further directions shall be given. I beg you to be persuaded that it will always afford me real pleasure to extend whatever encouragement may be consistent with my general duties to such particular persons as have long been faithful and useful servants of the community.

I finally commend you to the protection of Heaven, and sincerely wish you may enjoy every species of felicity.

G° Washington.

To Charles Thomson, Esq^r^

To General Washington, President of the United States of America.

Sir,

I cannot find words to express the feelings of my heart on the receipt of your favour of yesterday. At this repeated instance of your goodness I shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of this and of your condescension to me on a former occasion, when your presence administered a balm to my wounded spirit. From the love and veneration I bear and have continually felt for you, and the light in which I have always viewed you as raised up by Providence to be the Saviour and Father of your Country, I freely confess I should have been highly gratified in devoting myself to the public service under your administration. But by attentively observing and weighing circumstances and occurrences, it appeared to me to be the Will of God that I should return to private life. Under this impression, though I wished not merely to submit, but to submit with cheerfulness, I own I felt an uneasiness at the circumstances you mention, and which you are pleased to say *you have to regret*, that the period of

your coming again into public life should be exactly that in which I am to retire from it. I had this consolation, that you know, and from what had occurred the world must be convinced and know, that my retiring does not spring from your disapproval of my past conduct or my unwillingness to serve under you. I thank you for the testimonial you have given in my favour, and shall ever prize it next to the consciousness of having done my duty to my Country according to the utmost of my knowledge and abilities. Agreeably to your desire, I have delivered to M^r^ Roger Alden the books, records and papers of the late Congress, and enclose his receipt. He will wait upon you to receive the Great Seal of the Federal Union and the Seal of the Admiralty, which I had the honor of delivering into your hands, to thank you for this mark of your favour, and to execute any orders you will please to give him.

I know your goodness will excuse the liberty I took in recommending to your favour those who had remained with me to the last. And I beg you to believe that this was done without a wish that you should deviate from that line of conduct which I know you have marked out with wisdom and which I am sure you will pursue with steadiness in discharging the great trust reposed in you.

With sentiments of the most sincere esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, S^r^, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHAS. THOMSON.

New York, July 25, 1789.

[ENCLOSURE.]

I acknowledge to have received of Chas. Thomson, late Secretary of Congress, the books, records, and papers of the late Congress which were in his Custody, and which are deposited in rooms in the House where the Legislature of the United States now assemble;

and agreeably to the request of the President of the United States of America, take charge of the same until further directions shall be given.

ROGER ALDEN.

New York, July 25, 1789.

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, Jan. 31st, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

The western Indians having proposed to us a Conference at Sandusky in the ensuing spring, I am now about to proceed to nominate three Commissioners to meet and treat with them on Peace. What may be the issue of the Conference is difficult to foresee, but it is extremely essential that whatever it be it should carry with it the perfect confidence of our citizens that every endeavour will have been used to obtain Peace which their interest would permit.

For this reason it is necessary that characters be appointed who are known to our citizens for their talents & integrity, and whose situation in life places them clear of every suspicion of a wish to prolong the war, or say rather whose interest it is, in common with that of their Country, clearly to produce Peace. Characters uniting these desiderata do not abound. Some of them too are in offices inconsistent with the appointment now in question, others under impediments of health or other circumstances so as to circumscribe the charge within a small circle. Desirous in the first instance that you should be in this Commission, I have mentioned these difficulties to show you, in the event of your declining, how serious they are, and to induce you to come forward and perform this important service to your Country, a service with which its prosperity and tranquility are intimately connected. It will be necessary to set out from this place about the

first of May. The route will be by the North River & Niagara. It will be safe, and the measures for your comfortable transportation and subsistance taken as effectually as circumstances will admit.

Will you then permit me, Sir, to nominate you as one of the Commissioners, with a certain reliance on your acceptance?

Your answer to this will oblige, Dear Sir, your most obe^{d} & very h^{ble} servant,

G^{o} Washington.

Charles Thomson, Esq^{r}.

Imperfect Draft. To ———

March 9, 1795.

Sir,

I did not till yesterday receive your Letter of the 4th Feb^{y}, with the enclosed Letter from Doctor Belknap to you dated Jan^{y} 2, 1795. The Doc^{t}, with an anxious regard for the reputation of his Country, states "that Doc^{t} Kippis has published a life of Cap^{t} Cook, the famous navigator, and in vol. 2, p. 268, has given at large the directions issued in March, 1779, by Doc^{t} Franklin, then in France, to all Commanders of armed ships in the American service, that in case they should meet Cap^{t} Cook at sea, not to consider him as an enemy but to treat him and his people with all civility & kindness, assuring them that in so doing they would not only gratify the generosity of their own dispositions, but obtain the approbation of Congress. He then states that the author remarks on his own recommendation were to him astonishing." In the confidence which he expressed with respect to the approbation of Congress he happened to be mistaken, as the members of that Assembly, or at least the greater part of them, were not possessed of minds equally enlightened with that of their Ambassador. He was not

supported by his masters in this noble act of humanity of love to science and liberal policy. The order he had given was instantly reversed, & it was directed by Congress that especial care should be taken to seize Cap^{t} Cook if an opportunity of doing it occurred. All this proceeded from a false notion that it would be injurious to the United States for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America. He then states, by a note in the next page, Doc^{t} Kippis seems to have obtained this account from Sir Joseph Banks. Though on reading these remarks I could not hesitate a moment in contradicting them, because Congress never did express a disapprobation of the *directions issued by Doc^{t} Franklin*, nor did they ever direct "that especial *care should be taken to seize Cap^{t} Cook if an opportunity of doing it occurred*," yet I thought it might not be improper to pause and try to find from what source this misrepresentation sprung. Was it an inference drawn from subsequent proceedings of Congress? It is true that on the 2^{d} day of May, 1780, Congress passed a new form of commissions for private vessels of war, and new instructions to the Captains or Commanders of the said private armed vessels, in which the ships or vessels, together with their cargoes, belonging to any inhabitant or inhabitants of Bermuda, and other ships and vessels bringing persons with an intention to reside within the United States, are expressly exempted from capture, & no notice is taken of Captain Cook. But at that time of passing these Acts Congress had no information of the directions issued by Doc^{t} F. [From March, 1779, to that time they only received from him two Letters, one dated 30 Sep^{t} 1779, which was rec^{d} & read the 23 Feb^{y}, 1780, and the other dated 4 Oc^{t} 1779, which was rec^{d} & read 4 March, 1789, neither of which mentioned any thing of these directions. It may be seen by reference to those letters now in the Secretary of State's office.]

This circumstance not being known publickly, and

no notice being taken of Cap[t] Cook, an inference might be drawn that Congress had reversed the orders which their Ambassador had given; in fact they had them not in view nor knew any thing of them. But there is nothing in the commission or instructions, nor in any Act of Congress, which will warrant the assertion. With regard to Doc[t] Kippis' note of his having obtained the account from Sir Joseph Banks, as S. J. could not have given it from his own knowledge, that it was directed by Congress that especial care should be taken to seize Cap[t] Cook if an opportunity of doing it occurred, [some other source must be looked from which this has come. Sir Jos. Banks could have had no personal knowledge of this; he must have had information from others.] And all this proceeded from a false notion that "it would be injurious to the U. S. for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America." I am therefore led to conclude that this has arisen from misinformation, or from some of those spurious pieces which were fabricated and published within the enemies lines as Acts & Resolves of Congress, with an intent to vilify Congress or to answer some hostile purpose.

Had I thought it worth while to enter into the motives of Congress in passing the Act of May 2, it might easily be shown that the directions given by D. F—— had no share in them. In 1775 the Resolutions for reprisals were confined to . . .

From Thomas Jefferson.

Washington, Jan 11, 08.

My Dear and Antient Friend,

I see by the newspapers your translation of the Septuagist is now to be printed, and I write this to pray to be admitted as a subscriber. I wish it may not be

too late for you to reconsider the size in which it is to be published. Folios and quartos are now laid aside because of their inconvenience. Every thing is now printed in 8vo, 12mo or petit format. The English booksellers print their first editions indeed in 4to, because they can assess a larger price on account of the novelty; but the bulk of readers generally wait for the 2d edition, which is for the most part in 8vo. This is what I have long practised myself. Johnson, of Philadelphia, set the example of printing handsome edition of the Bible in 4 v., 8vo. I wish yours were in the same form. I have learnt from time to time with great satisfaction that you retain your health, spirits and activity of mind and body. Mr Dickinson too is nearly in the same way; he exchanges a letter with me now and then. The principal effect of age of which I am sensible is an indisposition to be goaded by business from morning to night, from labouring in an Augean stable, which cleared out at night presents an equal task the next morning. I want to have some time to turn to subjects more congenial to my mind. Mr Rose still stays on board his ship at Hampton, we know not why. If he is seeking time we may indulge time. Time prepares us for defence; time may produce peace in Europe that removes the ground of difference with England until another European war, and that may find our revenues liberated by the discharge of our national debt, our wealth and numbers increased, our friendship and our enmity more important to every nation. God bless you and give you years and health to your own wishes. Remember me respectfully to Mrs Thomson and accept yourself my affectionate salutation.

Th Jefferson

From J. Crawford.

15 Janry, 1809.

My Dear Sir,

I had nearly finished a long letter on the subject of my work, when I received from my friend Mr Le Fevre your polite card of 7 Janry inst., which came to hand yesterday. This has wholly changed my purpose, and determined me to unbosom my heart to you and to beseech you to favour me with your advice, having it most earnestly in view to promote the honor of God and to awaken in the hearts of crowds who are egregiously misled that reverence for Him and His Holy Law, as promulgated in the Gospel, which are so essentially necessary to happiness, both temporal and eternal. I clearly perceive that you have truly comprehended the nature of our institutions. It is a compound of the heathen mythology and of that which is derived to us from Moses and the Prophets, our Savour's and His Apostles. Now it is to be deplored that the Pagan part has too many devotees amongst us, and that the stream which immediately flows from the authority of the Supreme Being has been too generally neglected. The muddy waters of Styx have contaminated the clear fountains of Everlasting Life. Now, my dear Sir, when it is remembered that there are multitudes that have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, and whose understandings are astonishingly darkened, would it not be an acceptable service in the eyes of our Beneficent Judge to shew wherein the muddy has mixed with the pure stream, and endeavour to give to the latter its merited ascendancy? I was made a Mason very early in life, and when, I must confess, Religion had very little influence on my conduct. I persued it occasionally with some zeal. I perceived there were strong injunctions to the soundest morality, and believed it had a tendency to make men both wiser and better, of which,

in the course of my long experience, I witnessed many proofs. However, circumstances occurred to make a continuance of my labours inconvenient, and for fifteen years I wholly abandoned it.

When I came to this country my mind was under a very religious influence. Several of my most intimate friends were of the Order, and strongly urged me to join their Lodge. I at first refused, but reflecting one morning in my bed on the subject, and considering that the basis of all our workings was the Holy Scriptures, and well knowing there were so many sceptics amongst us, I felt a powerful influence which suggested to me that I might become the instrument of much good, and I determined to comply. I was soon chosen Master, and took care to press strongly on every occasion the truth of Divine revelation, and to divert the minds of my hearers from the ruinous bias which too many of them had received. I had for a whole winter an audience twice a month of generally not less than seventy persons. I was soon after chosen Dep^{y} Grand Master, and in the year following placed in the Chair, which with the exception of one year I have filled ever since. I deliver an address semi-annually, which is generally published, and which has always aimed at strengthening a belief of Divine revelation. Now I have to ask you two questions: Considering the number of Free Masons and the extent to which they have deviated from the truth, am I pursuing a laudable means of reforming them and bringing them back to first principles, or would it be more advisable to withdraw myself from them, and leave the correct principles of True Religion to work their own way into the world? If you think the former more advisable, will you lend me your aid to accomplish the good work? You have much in your power, but the difficulty even with me is how far you should pursue the only means by which you should attain so desirable an end. You must join us to render this practicable; but I have to apprise you that

you are to bring yourself under solemn obligations to perform what indeed the Christian Religion enjoins and nothing more. The obligations are my only difficulty. You will be required to do no more than has been the tenor of your life. Is this admissible where the objects in view are so meritorious? You well know we are not permitted to employ improper means to accomplish any purpose, however laudable. I am in, you are out. Will you—can you—deem yourself called upon to lend your aid to do much good on such terms? You have long been in my view as a fellow labourer in the great work. May the Searcher of hearts direct us to what will be most pleasing to Him. I shall wait your answer with much anxiety, and am, Dear Sir, your much obliged and most faithful friend,

J. Crawford.

Baltimore, 15th Jany, 1809.

To ———

Feby 4th, 1809.

Dear Sir,

I received your favour of the 22nd Dec., and thank you for the copy of the Documents which you were so kind as to send me.

I had such a share in the struggle for the Independence of our Country that I cannot be indifferent to its preservation. We have insidious and dangerous enemies to guard against, both foreign and Domestic. However, I hope the same kind Providence which conducted us through the Arduous Struggle will still continue to preserve. To his special guardiance I most sincerely commend you. I herewith send you the 3 vols. of my Translation, with the ground plot of Solomon's Temple drawn on a scale of 40 cubit to an inch, as from a survey on field book, so that I think it is correct. The

4th & last, viz., the N. T., is in great forwardness. That health and happiness may attend you is the sincere wish of your old and affectionate fd,

C. T.

FROM DR. DAVID RAMSAY.

Charleston, September 20th, 1809.

DEAR SIR,

I am about publishing a second edition of my History of the American Revolution. In looking over it I find sundry particulars stated by you to me in New York, which I think should now be given more in detail and with the names of parties mentioned. Will you have the goodness to inform me who was the writer of the "series of letters" alluded to at the foot of page 119, vol. first, of Ramsay's History of the American Revolution? Who were the three patriots alluded to in the 16th line from foot of page 117 of the same vol. of the same work? I have no copy of book to which I refer, but I suppose you can easily obtain a sight of it so as to answer the above queries. Any other communications you will make relative to the old Congress or the American Revolution will be thankfully received and inserted in my new edition. I suspect that your modesty has restrained you from doing justice to yourself in many services you have rendered the Cause of American Liberty.

I beseech you to communicate freely & in confidence to me. I assure you that your fame shall be safe in my hands, & it will give me pleasure to let the American world know how much they are indebted to the Secretary of the old Congress.

I am, most sincerely, your friend,

DAVID RAMSAY.

From Thomas Jefferson.

Monticello, Jan^{y} 9, 15 [1816].

My Dear & Antient Friend,

An acquaintance of 52 years—for I think ours dates from 1764—calls for an interchange of notice now and then that we remain in existence the monuments of another age, and examples of a friendship unaffected by the jarring elements by which we have been surrounded of Revolutions of Government, of party and of opinion. I am reminded of this duty by the receipt thro' our friend D^{r} Patterson of your Synopsis of the Four Evangelists. I had procured it as soon as I saw it advertized, and had become familiar with its use, but this copy is the more valued because it comes from your hands. This work bears the stamp of that accuracy which marks every thing from you, and will be useful to those who, not taking things on trust, recur for themselves to the fountain of pure morals. I too have made a wee little book from the same materials, which I call the Philosophy of Jesus. It is a paradigma of His doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book and arranging them on the pages of a blank book in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious model of ethics I have never seen. It is a document in proof that I am a *real Christian*—that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus; very different from the Platonists who call *me* Infidel and *themselves* Christians and preachers of the Gospel. While they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its author never said nor saw, they have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the great Reformer of the vicious ethics and deism of the Jews, were He to return on earth, would not recognize one feature. If I had time I would add to my little book the Greek, Latin and French texts in columns side by side, & I wish I could subjoin a translation of Gassendi's Syntagma of the Doctrine of Epi-

curus, which notwithstanding the calumnies of the stoics, and caricatures of Cicerois the most rational system remaining of the philosophy of the ancients, as frugal of vicious indulgence, and fruitful of virtue as the hyperbolical extravagances of his rival sects. I retain good health, am rather feeble to walk much, but ride with ease, passing two or three hours a day on horse back and every three or four months taking in a carriage a journey of 90 miles to a distant possession, where I pass a good deal of my time. My eyes need the aid of glasses by night and with small print in the day also. My hearing not quite so sensible as it used to be. No tooth shaking yet, but shivering and shrinking in the body from the cold we now experience, my thermometer being as low as 12° this morning. My greatest affliction is a correspondence afflictingly laborious, the extent of which I have been long endeavouring to curtail. This keeps me at the drudging of the writing table all the prime hours of the day, leaving for the gratification of my appetite for reading only what I can steal from the hours of sleep. Could I reduce this epistolary corvée within the limits of my friends and affairs, and give the time redeemed from it to reading and reflection, to history, ethics, mathematics, my life would be as happy as the infirmities of age would admit, and I should look to its consummation, with the composure of one "qui summum nec metuit diem nec optat." So much to myself; and I have given you this string of egotisms in the hope of drawing a similar one from yourself. I have heard from others that you retain your health, a good degree of activity and all the vivacity and cheerfulness of your mind, but I wish to learn it more minutely from yourself. How has time affected your health, your strength, your faculties & spirits? What are your amusements, literary & social? Tell me every thing about yourself, because all will be interesting to one who retains for you ever the same constant & affectionate friendship and respect, TH. JEFFERSON.

To Thomas Jefferson.

Lower Merion, near Philad., May 16th, 1816.

My very Dear, Much Loved as well as Ancient Friend,

Your letter of the 9th of January last, which did not reach me till the latter end of April, was to me indeed a cordial. It recalled to mind the trying scenes through which we passed with undissembled confidence, but in a particular manner rejoiced me as it informed me of the firm state of your health and the full enjoyment you have of your faculties, both of body and mind, and more especially of the precious little book you have composed and which you call the Philosophy of Jesus, which is to you a document in proof that you are a real Christian, that is, a disciple of the doctrine of Jesus, and can look to the consummation of life with the composure of one qui summum nec metuit diem nec optat. For the good of my own country I could wish *that* day to be distant, but on account of the infirmities with which old age is accompanied and which I experience, I dare not. Nothing but your earnest desire could induce me to trouble you with a detail of what I experience and feel. Though I have reached and am near closing my 87th year, my constitution was naturally not of the robust, but of a weak and delicate kind, subject to bilious complaints and fever by which I have been several times brought to the gates of death, and have (I may say miraculously) recovered and with returning strength have found the powers of the mind restored.

But that is not the case now. I find as I advance in life, that disorders of any kind make more lasting impressions. They chill the senses and stupify the mind so as to render it incapable of exercising its powers. I have parted with most of my teeth, and the few stumps that remain are unfit for mastication.

My eyes indeed (though in 1778 I almost lost the use of them by what the French call a coup de soleil) have been so far restored that I write and read without spectacles, and use them only occasionally to ease the eyes when tired or when the print is too small.

My hearing is so dull that I can take no share in common conversation, so that when my friends visit me and wish to communicate any thing or ask me a question they must sit near me and bawl. My memory is like a riddle. But why should I proceed with this detail of weaknesses? How few at my age enjoy greater comforts! I am free from gout or stone or any acute disorder. My sleep is sweet, and when tired by day or night I can by laying my head on a pillow, enjoy that comfort. I read the newspapers for amusement and glance over the debates of the sages, and am sorry to say I find more to disgust than to please. I lately met with Allen's History of Lewis and Clark's interesting expedition up the Missouri to its source, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. It is a wonderful instance of persevering resolution. I wish it had undergone another revision before it was committed to the press, and that it was accompanied with a better map.

I ought to have informed you that from an early period of life I have continued the constant use of the flesh brush, always in the morning and sometimes at night just before going to bed. This serves instead of riding, and I have the benefit of an air bath instead of a water bath. But to finish this string of egotism I beg leave to assure you that I am, with constant and undissembled love, y^{r} affectionate,

CHA. THOMSON.

To the Same.

My very Dear, Ancient and Beloved Friend,

I received your letter of January last when I was under a paralytic stroke but not sensible of it. I felt no acute pains and my sight was as usual. I could read without spectacles but could not comprehend what I read, nor its connection with what preceded or followed. I read your letter and was pleased. I made sundry attempts to answer it, but in vain; and what at last I sent as an answer I do not now recollect. The powers of my mind were weakened to such a degree that I forgot the names not only of my neighbours, but even of my family, and even of what I myself had said or done but a few minutes before. After this stroke, suddenly another on the powers of the body (excepting the eye, which still continued as usual). One night (at what distance of time from the first stroke I do not recollect) I went to bed in usual health, and in the morning I found I was struck dumb. I could not utter a sound from my mouth. When I attempted to speak a strange rumbling sound seemed to come out at the ear, but not a word could I utter from the mouth. My appetite for food now failed, and all my bodily powers (except the eye) became weaker and weaker till the first or second week in November, at the end of the 87th and beginning of the 88th year of my age. The beginning of my recovery was as sudden as the stroke I had received. One morning, being unusually refreshed with sleep, I woke as from a trance and found a wonderful change in my whole system. From that time to this I have been gradually but slowly recovering the due exercise of the powers both of mind and body, except the hearing, which continues dull as it was.

I have been thus particular to apologise for my answer to your letter, and for an answer which I gave on the 9th of Sept. to what I deemed an impertinent

question of Mr Delaplaine which has occasioned a very improper application to you. The case, as far as I can now recollect, was simply this: Among many other questions he asked me one which seemed to refer to the slanderous charges handed about respecting your infidelity and disbelief of Christianity. This roused my resentment, and I wished to answer it by a sentence of your letter which at that instant occurred to my mind. On looking for the letter I could not find it, but after several questions I recollected that passage of your letter in which you informed me that you had employed some time in composing "a wee little book which was a document in proof that you are a real Christian, that is, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus Christ." With these words I answered this question. He put several questions touching the meaning, but I answered all with a repetition of the same words, at the same time trying to recollect when or where I had lost the letter. At last it occurred to me that I had been in Philadelphia and had shewn the letter to Doctor Patterson. I thereupon desired Mr Delaplaine to call on Dr. Patterson and enquire if I had left it there. This happened to have been the case—I had laid it on the table and forgot it. But Mr D., it seems, construed the favour I asked into a grant of something to himself. After all this detail accept, my ever dear friend, an assurance of the sincere and uninterrupted esteem and regard with which I am yours,

CHARLES THOMSON.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Monticello, Jan^{ry} 29, 1817.

MY VERY DEAR & ANTIENT FRIEND,

I learnt from your last letter, with much affliction, the severe and singular attack, your health has lately

sustained, but its equally singular and sudden restoration confirms my confidence in the strength of your constitution of body and mind and my conclusion that neither has recived hurt, and that you are still ours for a long time to come. We have both much to be thankful for in the soundness of our physical organisation, and something for self approbation in the order and regularity of life by which it has been preserved. Your preceding letter had given me no cause to doubt the continued strength of your mind, and were it not that I am always peculiarly gratified by hearing from you, I should regret you had thought the incident with M^r^ Delaplaine worth an explanation. He wrote me on the subject of my letter to you of Jan^ry^ 9, 1816, and asked me questions which I answer only to one Being. To himself, therefore, I replied: "Say nothing of my Religion; it is known to my God and myself alone; its evidence before the world is to be sought in my life; if that has been honest and dutiful to society the Religion which has regulated it cannot be a bad one." It is a singular anxiety which some people have that we should all think alike. Would the world be more beautiful were all our faces alike? were our tempers, our talents, our tastes, our forms, our wishes, aversions and pursuits cast exactly in the same mould? If no varieties existed in the animal, vegetable or mineral creation, but all move strictly uniform, catholic & orthodox, what a world of physical and moral monotony would it be! These are the absurdities into which those run who usurp the throne of God, and dictate to Him what He should have done. May they with all their metaphysical riddles appear before that tribunal with as clean hands and hearts as you and I shall. There, suspended in the scales of eternal justice, faith and works will show their worth by their weight. God bless you and preserve you long in life & health.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Charles Thomson Esq^r^

"Joseph Reed's Narrative."

When in the year 1774 the inhabitants of Boston received intelligence of the measures determined upon by the British Parliament to coerce them into compensation for the destruction of the tea & submission to authority of Parliament, they held a town meeting to consult upon the measures to be taken in opposition. Among other things they wrote a Public Letter to the leading Whig inhabitants of Philadelphia, requesting their aid, & Mr Hancock, S. Adams, and Mr Cushing accompanied this by private letters to Mr J. Reed, & Mr Mifflin, urging the same point & assuring that unless Philadelphia joined them Boston was in no condition to make any opposition, and in a word their conduct depended upon that of Philadelphia, and the same day these letters were received those gentlemen, with Mr Thomson, issued an invitation to the inhabitants of Philadelphia to meet in the evening at the City Tavern upon business of importance.

At this time Mr Dickinson was in the highest point of reputation and possessed a vast influence, not only with the Public at large but among the Quakers in particular, in consequence of his marriage into that sect. No person in Pennsylvania approached him as a rival in personal influence. In short, he was of that weight that it seemed to depend upon his being present at the meeting whether or not there should be any measures in opposition to Britain in consequence of it.

The triumvirate were fully sensible of this, but the difficulty lay in prevailing upon him to attend and countenance the meeting; for though a Whig, in principle against the dangerous tendency of the measures of Britain, his nerves were weak. He possessed a large fortune and he was cautious and timid. However it was resolved to sound him on the present situation of affairs, and if possible to obtain his presence at and

countenance to the meeting to be held in the evening. Accordingly Mr Reed, Mr Thomson, & Mr Mifflin in the fournoon went together to Mr Dickinson at his house, two miles from the City. Having gently opened the business they found him very distant, cool and cautious. After some general conversation upon the pressure of affairs, being about to return to the City, Mr Dickinson invited them to come back to dinner. They accordingly returned, in the hopes that after a generous circulation of the glass Mr Dickinson might be more animated, communicative and adventurous. There were some other gentlemen at table, but the triumvirate having hinted that they had some private business with Mr Dickinson, these withdrew early, and Mr Dickinson's lady and mother, who was extremely sensible, cautious, and had a great influence over him, being also retired, they renewed the subject of discourse in the morning, circulating the glass briskly.

They represented the past proceedings of the Ministry & the conduct of America; the present intention of Parliament; the consequences if not opposed and that conduct which America ought to pursue & Philadelphia in particular, & if necessary that conduct should be carried to extremity. This at once shocked Mr Dickinson. He admitted that opposition ought to be used; represented that the people were not ripe for extremities; could not be too cautious & temperate; that the risk was immense & that he had a great fortune & reputation at stake. He agreed to attend the meeting but he could go no further than an Address to the Governor to call the Assembly. To this it was replied that it was owing to his Farmer's Letters and his conduct that there was a present disposition to oppose the tyranny of Parliament; that his reputation was high and therefore his present conduct ought to be corresponding to that reputation, his principles of freedom & the exigency of the present occasion. That a contrary conduct must effectually blast his reputation,

so justly acquired; he would be branded as an apostate from the Cause of Liberty & accounted too timid a person to be depended upon in time of danger. That the people were ripe to take the most effectual measures in opposition to the tyrannick measures of Parliament; that every thing depended upon his conduct, and every thing was expected from patriotism, good sense & firmness in the Cause of his Country. Upon the whole it was agreed that Mr Reed, Mr Mifflin & Mr Thomson should at the meeting propose the most vigorous measures, & that Mr Dickinson should moderate that fire by proposing measures of a more gentle nature. But by this time Mr Dickinson began to repent of his engagement to attend the meeting, & would fain have retired from it. On the other side the other gentlemen kept him to it, & resolved that he should not be left alone in the interval least his wife or mother should speak with & overthrow at once all that had been done. They were in an adjoining room, appeared very uneasy, & only waited for such an opportunity, and it was necessary that Mr Reed and Mr Mifflin should immediately attend the gentlemen already met at the City Tavern. Mr Dickinson was not ready to accompany them, still delaying the moment of stepping into action. At length Mr Reed & Mr Mifflin set out for the meeting and left Mr Thomson to keep the ladies from conversing with Mr Dickinson, and if possible to bring him to the meeting. When those two gentlemen arrived at the City Tavern they found a full meeting composed of all ranks and interests. There were the proprietary interest, the sons of the principal officers of Government, the Quakers, the Whigs, all impatient to hear what was to be laid before them, as well as information as proceeding. But Mr Dickinson's absence was a bar to Mr Reed on this occasion. He also found Mr Mifflin was cooled in the idea of speaking in support of vigorous measures. However, as the company grew more and more impatient, he acquainted them he

only waited the arrival of a gentleman or two, when they would proceed to business.

At length Mr Dickinson and Mr Thomson arrived, and Mr Dickinson was received with the most profound respect. Mr Reed then opened the business & urged the most spirited measures. Mr Thomson got up to support him, but with the heat of the room immediately fainted away. Mr Reed then supported what he had said & sat down, when Mr Dickinson arose and recommended an Address to the Governour to call the Assembly. This being done in a few words he immediately left the meeting and returned home.

The contrast between the two measures advised & Mr Dickinson's great weight precipitated the company into an adoption of the latter, which being so gentle in its appearance was a great relief against the violence of the first, & therefore although opposed was admitted. A Committee was appointed to prepare this Address and to manage the business. This even, such as it was, was a great point gained. It gave birth to a Public Body in appearance, & that once established by prudent management led to other open actions.

The Governor refused the proposition. The Committee then applied to Mr Speaker Galloway to call the members of Assembly together, and he, flattered with this unusual mark of attention, consented to it. But before he could execute the measure some Indian hostilities upon the frontier occasioned the Governor to summon the Assembly for the defence of the frontier, and thus the Representatives of the people were collected in this dangerous conjuncture.

The Whigs, not satisfied with the vigour of this body, at the same time found means to collect a Convention from the several Counties. They sat in Carpenter's Hall. They meant by their proceedings to inspire the Assembly with some resolution, and at least to do something in conformity to the proceeding of the other Colonies. They succeeded, and the Assembly ap-

pointed Delegates to the General Congress & gave them instructions ; and in the mean time the Convention established the Government of Committees in conformity with the other Provinces. Thus the Public Machine was at length organized & put in motion. The Congress being met and M^r^ Dickinson afterwards being made a member (for he was not originally so, not being a member of Assembly, & they then appointed only of their own body), he had a constant correspondence with the members of the Assembly, whom he engaged from time to time to pass instructions to their Delegates as he saw occasion, and he hearing the question for Independency, engaged the Assembly to pass their famous instructions against that measure. At length the Whigs in and out of the Assembly found the majority of that body averse to the Cause of Freedom, and their proceedings were likely at least to involve them in difficulties. They were now under the government of a Convention & Committees, & the Assembly was not only dangerous but useless. They therefore resolved to break it up. Accordingly the minority, consisting of Whigs, upon the adjournment in the forenoon suddenly and secretly quitted the city and every man returned home. When the House was to meet in the afternoon the Tory majority attended, & having waited some time found they had not a House. The messenger was then sent to summon four of five of the members supposed to be at their lodgings in the neighbourhood. He returned that they were not at home, and that they had paid off their lodgings. He was then sent to four or five others but he returned with the same account. Then the members found what conduct the absentees had pursued & with what design. Those who were present were not of a sufficient number to do any act but to adjourn. Their indignation was great. They adjourned to the next day, when being met again & not having the least power they broke up and went home. And thus ended Legislation under the Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania.

[To William Henry Drayton.]

Sir,

I have run over your manuscript, and as I perceive you must have had your information from some person who judged only from appearances without being acquainted with the secret springs and reality of action, I find myself obliged, in justice to a character which is not represented in a true point of light, to unfold the scene and give you a sketch of things as they really happened.

It is generally known what an early part Mr D—— took in the American disputes. His first piece in favour of America was written the year 1765, during the Stamp Act. The sudden repeal of the Stamp Act rendered a further continuation of his labours at that time unnecessary. But the Tea, Paper & Glass Act called him forth again in the year 1767 or 1768, when he published his Farmer's Letters, which had the effect to rouse America to a sense of its danger and to adopt measures for preventing the evils threatened & obtaining a redress of grievances. The partial repeal of this Act in the year 1770 in a great measure put an end to the apprehensions of the Americans, and peace and good humour seemed again to be restored. During all this time Mr D. was considered as the first champion for American Liberty. His abilities exercised in defence of the rights of his Country raised his character high, not only in America but in Europe, and his fortune and hospitality gave him great influence in his own State. When the controversy was again renewed between Great Britain and America in the year 1772 the merchants of Philadelphia, who first took the alarm at the attempt of introducing tea to America through the medium of the East India Company, were anxious to engage him in the dispute. But from this he was dissuaded by one of his most intimate friends, who seemed to be persuaded that this new attempt of the Ministry would lead to most serious consequences, and

terminate in blood, and who therefore wished him to reserve himself till matters became more serious. For this reason he was not publickly concerned in the measures taken for sending back the tea. But in the spring 1774, as soon as the news of the Boston Port Bill, &c., his friend, who had taken an active part in the measures for sending back the tea, immediately communicated to him the intelligence and gave his opinion that now was the time to step forward. The measures proper to be pursued on this occasion were secretly concerted between them, and to prepare the minds of the people M^r D undertook to address the public in a series of letters. The next day the Letter arrived from Boston, and it was judged proper to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants to communicate to them the contents of the Letter and gain their concurrence in the measures that were necessary to be taken. As the Quakers, who are principled against War, saw the storm gathering, and therefore wished to keep aloof from danger, were industriously employed to prevent anything being done which might involve Pennsylvania farther in the dispute, and as it was apparent that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to devise means so to counteract their designs as to carry the measures proposed and yet prevent a disunion, and thus, if possible, bring Pennsylvania's whole force undivided to make common cause with Boston. The line of conduct M^r D had lately pursued opened a prospect for this. His sentiments were not generally known. The Quakers courted and seemed to depend upon him. The other party, from his past conduct hoped for his assistance, but were not sure how far he would go if matters came to extremity, his sentiments on the present controversy not being generally known. It was therefore agreed that he should attend the meeting, and as it would be in vain for Phil^a or even Penn^a to enter into the dispute unless seconded and supported by

the other Colonies, the only point to be carried at the ensuing meeting was to return a friendly and affectionate answer to the people of Boston, to forward the news of their distress to the Southern Colonies, and to consult them and the Eastern Colonies on the propriety of calling a Congress to consult on measures necessary to be taken. If divisions ran high at the meeting it was agreed to propose the calling together the Assembly in order to gain time.

To accomplish this it was agreed that his friend, who was represented as a rash man, should press for an immediate declaration in favor of Boston, and get some of his friends to support him in the measure; that M^r D. should oppose and press for moderate measures, and thus by an apparent dispute prevent a farther opposition and carry the point agreed on. For this purpose M^r R and M^r M. were sounded, and invitation given to dine with M^r D. on the day of the Meeting. After dinner the four had a private conference, at which M^r D. was pressed to attend the meeting which was to be in the evening. M^r D. offered sundry excuses, but at last seemed to consent, provided matters were so conducted that he might be allowed to propose and carry moderate measures. T., who was on the watch, and who thought he saw some reluctance in one of the gentlemen to be brought to act a second part, prevented a farther explanation by proposing that R. should open the meeting, M. second him, that T. should then speak, and after him D., and that afterward they should speak as occasion offered. After this the conversation was more reserved, and soon after R. and M. returned to town. At parting they pressed T. to bring D. with him, and T. assured them that he would not come without him. The carriage was ordered up, and after they had been some time gone, so that all might not seem to have been together, D. and T. stepped into the carriage and drove down to the City Tavern, the place of

meeting. The meeting was held in the Long Room. The company was large, and the room exceedingly crowded. The Letter received from Boston was read, after which R. addressed the Assembly with temper, moderation, but in pathetic terms. M. spoke next and with more warmth and fire. T. succeeded, and pressed for an immediate declaration in favor of Boston, and making common cause with her; but being overcome with the heat of the room and fatigue (for he had scarce slept an hour two nights past), he fainted and was carried into an adjoining room. Great clamour was raised against the violence of the measures proposed. D. then addressed the company. In what manner he acquitted himself I cannot say. After he had finished the clamour was renewed; voices were heard in different parts of the room, and all was in confusion; a Chairman was called for to moderate the meeting and regulate debates; still the confusion continued. As soon as T. recovered he returned into the room. The tumult and disorder was past description. He had not strength to attempt opposing the gust of passion or to allay the heat by anything he could say. He therefore simply moved a question, that an answer should be returned to the Letter from Boston; this was put and carried. He then moved for a Committee to write the answer; this was agreed to, and two lists were immediately made out and handed to the Chair. The clamour was then renewed on which list a vote should be taken. At length it was proposed that both lists should be considered as one, and compose the Com^{tt}. This was agreed to, and the company broke up in tolerable good humour, both thinking they had in part carried their point. At what time D. left the room I cannot say, as a great many withdrew when the tumult raged. Next day the Com^{tt} met and not only prepared and sent back an answer to Boston, but also forwarded the news to the Southern Colonies, accompanied with Letters intimating the necessity of a Congress of Dele-

gates from all the Colonies to devise measures necessary to be taken for the Common safety. It was then proposed to call a general meeting of the inhabitants of the city at the State House. This required great address. The Quakers had an aversion to town meetings and always opposed them. However, it was so managed that they gave their consent and assisted in preparing the business for this public meeting, agreed on the persons who should preside, and those who should address the inhabitants. The Presidents agreed on were Mr Dickinson, Willing and Pennington, and the Speakers, Smith, Reed and Thomson, who were obliged to write down what they intended to say and submit their several speeches to the revision of the President. The meeting was held, at which it was among other things resolved to make com. cause with Boston. The resolutions passed at this meeting are published in the newspapers of the time, prefaced with Smith's speech at full length. In the meanwhile it was judged proper to address the Governor to call the Assembly. Tho' it was hardly expected the Governor would comply, yet it was necessary to take this step in order to prevent further divisions in the City, and to convince the pacific that it was not the intention of the warm spirits to involve the Province in the dispute without the consent of the Representatives of the people. The Address was drawn up and signed by the leading men of both parties, and presented to the Governor. The answer was such as was expected. That he could not call the Assembly for the purposes mentioned, and he added that he was sure the gentlemen did not expect, considering his situation, that he would comply with their request. His answer was considered as calculated for the meridian of London.

Whether the Governor wished to gratify the inhabitants & favour the Cause of America by convening the Assembly, or whether thereby, from the sentiments supposed to prevail in the members of the House, he hoped to counteract the views of those who wished to

bring Pennsylvania into the dispute, is uncertain. But from whatever motives he acted, certain it is that he immediately summoned his Council, & in a very few days took occasion, from a report of Indian disturbances, to convene the Assembly. The refusal of the Governor to call the Assembly was far from being disagreeable to the advocates of America. They had no confidence in the members of the Assembly, who were known to be under the influence of Galloway & his party. They therefore had another object in view. When the merchants led the people into an opposition to the importation of the East India Company's tea, those who considered that matter only as a manœuvre of the Ministry to renew the disputes between G. B. & America, & who were firmly persuaded that the dispute would terminate in blood, immediately adopted measures to bring the whole body of the people into the dispute and thereby put it out of the power of the merchants, as they had done before, to drop the opposition when interest dictated the measure. They therefore got Com^tt^ established in every County throughout the Province, and a constant communication was kept up between those Com^tt^ & that of Phila^a^. Upon the Governor's refusal to call the Assembly it was resolved to procure a meeting of Delegates from those Committees, and when the Governor agreed to call the Assembly, still it was thought proper to convene a Convention of the Com., in order to draw up instructions to their Representatives in Assembly. In all these measures D. was consulted & heartily concurred, and so earnestly did he interest himself that he prepared the instructions, had them ready for publication previous to the meeting of the Convention. After the meeting of the inhabitants of Phil^a^ & the resolutions passed at the State House, D., M. & T., under colour of an excursion of pleasure, made a tour through two or three frontier Counties in order to discover the sentiments of the inhabitants & particularly of the Germans. The Convention of Committees met

some days before the Assembly, and having agreed to the state of American grievances drawn up by D., presented them to the Assembly in the form of instructions in order to engage them to pursue measures in concert with the other Colonies for obtaining redress, and as a Congress was now agreed on they pressed the Assembly to appoint Delegates to represent this Province in Congress, resolving at the same time, in case the Assembly refused, to take upon themselves to appoint Deputies. To prevent this, the Assembly agreed to appoint the Delegates but confined the choice to their own Members, thereby excluding M^r D. & M^r Wilson, whom the Convention had in view. At the ensuing election, on first Oct., M^r D. was chosen a member of Assembly, and on the meeting of the Assembly was added to the number of Delegates. His election was on Saturday, the 15^th^, & on Monday, the 17^th^ Oct., he took his seat in Congress, immediately entered deeply into the business then under deliberation. He was appointed one of the Com^tt^ to prepare an Address to the people of Canada, and the first draught of the Petition to the King not meeting the approbation of Congress, was recommitted, and he was added to the Com^tt^ and had a principal hand in that which was sent. After Congress broke up he attended the Assembly and there exerted himself to obtain an approbation of the proceedings of Congress, which was carried in spite of Galloway's efforts to the contrary. During the winter sessions he frequently had occasion, which he always improved, to call the attention of the House to the danger that threatened, to rouse them to a sense of it & to stimulate them to adopt measures for their defence and security, in which he was supported by Mifflin, Biddle, Ross & Thomson, who were all in the Assembly. The part they had to act was arduous & delicate. A great majority of the Assembly was composed of men in the Proprietary & Quaker interest, who heretofore opposed to each other, were now uniting, the one from motives of pol-

icy, the other from principles of religion. To press matters was the sure way of cementing that union and thereby raising a powerful party in the State against the Cause of America, whereas by prudent management and an improvement of occurrences as they happened there was reason to hope that the Assembly, and consequently the whole Province, might be brought into the dispute without any considerable opposition. And from past experience it was evident that the people of Pennsy[1] are cautious & backward in entering into measures, yet when they are engaged none are more firm, resolute and persevering. A great body of the people were composed of Germans. The principal reliance was on them in case matters came to extremities, and it was well known these were much under the influence of the Quakers. For this reason, therefore, it was necessary to act with more caution and by every prudent means, to obtain their concurrence in the opposition to the designs of Great Britain: and had the Whigs in Assembly been left to pursue their own measures, there is every reason to believe they would have effected their purpose, prevented that disunion which has unhappily taken place, and brought the whole Province as one man with all its force and weight of government into the Common Cause. Danger was fast approaching. The storm which had been gathering began to burst. The Battle of Lexington was fought. Many of the members then in Assembly had long held seats there & were fond of continuing. They had hitherto joined with very little opposition in defensive measures, & it was evident that rather than give up their seats in Assembly & the importance derived from thence they would go still further, and thus might be led on step by step till they had advanced too far to retreat. Their past and future conduct justified this conclusion. In the winter session they voted a sum of money to purchase ammunition, & in the summer of 1776, though a majority of the Assembly were of the people called Quakers, they agreed to

arm the inhabitants and ordered five thousand new muskets with bayonets & other accoutrements to be made, and as they had not money in the treasury and could not have the concurrence of the Governor in raising money to pay for them, they by a resolve of their own, to which there was only three dissenting voices, ordered £35,000 to be struck in bills of credit and pledged the faith of the Province for the redemption of it, thus virtually declaring themselves independent and assuming to themselves the whole power of government. The original Constitution of Pennsylvania was very favourable & well adapted to the present emergencies. The Assembly was annual. The election was fixed to a certain day, on which the freemen who were worth fifty pounds met, or had a right to meet, without summons at their respective county town, & by ballot choose not only Representatives for Assembly, but also Sheriff, Coroner, Commissioners for managing the affairs of the County, & Assessors to rate the tax imposed by law upon the estates, real and personal, of the several inhabitants of their County. The members of the House of Assembly when chosen met according to law on a certain day & chose their Speaker, Provincial Treasurer and sundry other officers. The House sat on its own adjournment, nor was it in the power of the Governor to prorogue or dissolve it. Hence it is apparent that Pennsylvania had a great advantage over the other Colonies, which by being deprived by their Governors of their legal Assemblies or Houses of Representatives constitutionally chosen were forced into Conventions.

The Assembly of Pennsyl[a], if they could be brought to take a part, supplied the place of a Convention, with this advantage, that being a part of the Legislature they preserved the legal forms of government, consequently had more weight and authority among the people. No man could refuse to attend the election of Assembly men without taking upon himself the consequences of what might follow by his not attend-

ing and giving his vote. On the other hand, if he attended and the men of his choice were not elected, he had no right to complain, as the majority of votes decided. The Cause of America was every day gaining ground, and the people growing more or more determined. The timid were acquiring courage, and the wavering confirmed in the opposition. Hence, it was apparent the election would soon be wholly in the power of the Patriots and Whig party. For these reasons the Whigs who were then members wished to temporize and make use of the Assembly rather than a Convention, but unhappily for the Province they were thwarted in their measures by a body of men from whom they expected to derive the firmest support.

The Committee of Philadel[a] which was elected for the purpose of superintending and carrying into execution the non-importation agreement recommended by the Congress in 1774, & of which M[r] Reed was President, was, for the purpose of giving them more weight and influence, increased to the number of one hundred. Many members of this body who were suddenly raised to power and exercised an uncontrolled authority over their fellow citizens, were impatient of any kind of opposition. The cautious conduct of the Patriots in the Assembly, they attributed to luke warmness, and the backwardness of others, which was owing partially to a natural timidity of temper, to the influence of religious principles and old prejudices, they construed into disaffection. Instead, therefore, of co-operating to keep down parties, they were labouring to raise and foment them, and at the very moment when the Assembly were giving the most solid proofs of their attachment to the Cause and gradually entrenching on the powers of the Governor in order to arm and put the Province in a state of defence, the Com[tt] were adopting measures to dissolve them and substitute a Convention in their stead, and proceeded so far as to vote a Convention necessary and appoint-

ed a Special Committee in order to devise the means of bringing the other County Committees to a like determination. D., M., and T., who were of the Assembly, and who were also members of the Com^{tt}, attended the special meeting, and by pointing out the ill-timed policy of the measure, and the fatal consequences that might and would inevitably ensue, prevailed upon them to desist, and thus for a time the Province was saved from being rent to pieces by parties. D. & M. were also members of Congress. The Battle of Lexington had drawn together a tumultuous army round Boston, and that had brought on the Battle of Bunkers Hill. Much blood was now shed, and it was evident that the sword must decide the contest. It was necessary, therefore, to organize the army and appoint a Continental Commander in Chief and other general officers.

A Declaration was deemed necessary to justify the Americans in taking up arms. D., who still retained a fond hope of reconciliation with Great Britain, was strenuous for trying the effects of another Petition to the King, and being warmly seconded the measure was agreed to, and D. had a considerable hand in drawing up both the Petition and Declaration, which were both sent at the same time to England. The subject of the Petition, as well as the Declaration, occasioned warm and long debates in Congress, in which D. took a distinguished part, which was circulated about in whispers to his disadvantage. However he maintained his ground among the generality of the people in his own Province, and particularly among those who still wished and hoped to see a Reconciliation take place; and it must be allowed that if his judgment had not quite approved the measure, yet on account of the people of Pennsylvania it was both prudent and politic to adopt it. Without making an experiment it would have been impossible ever to have persuaded the bulk of Pennsylvania but that an humble Petition, drawn up without those clauses against

which the Ministers and Parliament of Great Britain took exception in the former Petition, would have met with a favourable reception and produced the desired effect. But this Petition, which was drawn up in the most submissive and unexceptionable terms, meeting with the same fate as others, obviated objections that would have been raised and had a powerful effect in suppressing opposition, preserving unanimity and bringing the Province in a united body into the contest. Whatever hand D. had in the promoting it ought to have redounded to his credit as a politician.

[In the draft among Mr Thomson's papers is here inserted and erased the following:

"In the new election of an Assembly in the fall of 1775, the Committee of Philadelphia exerted themselves to introduce and prevailed so far as to carry Mr Reed."]

At the annual election in Oct., 1775, some change was made in the Assembly; some old members were left out and some new ones chosen, among the latter Mr D. As the Governor had withdrawn himself in a great degree from the affairs of Government, the Assembly at their first meeting appointed a Council or Committee of Safety and invested them with the executive powers of government, reserving to themselves the legislative authority, which they exercised by resolves.

In November the Assembly returned, among other Delegates to represent the Province of Pennsylvania in Congress, Mr Willing, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and Mr Allen, the Attorney-General of the Province and brother-in-law of the Governor. So that there was yet no appearance of disunion in the Province, except among some few of the most rigid Quakers, who kept aloof and refused to be concerned in elections for Assemblymen, under pretence that their religious principles forbad them countenancing war. But neither influence, persuasion, or church discipline could restrain a considerable number

of their young men from taking an active part. A distinction was taken between offensive and defensive war, which might easily have been improved to divide the Society in such a manner as to have rendered every opposition from that quarter weak and contemptible.

NOTE.

According to the Journals, the members present at the sessions of the Continental Congress, a part of whose discussions are presented in the preceding Debates, etc. [*ante*, pp. 63–169], were the following —delegates from

New Hampshire:	Samuel Livermore, John Taylor Gilman.
Massachusetts:	Samuel Osgood, John Lowell, Jonathan Jackson.
Rhode Island:	Ezekiel Cornell, David Howell.
Connecticut:	Jesse Root, Benjamin Huntington, Eliphalet Dyer.
New York:	James Duane, John Morin Scott, Ezra L'Hommedieu.
New Jersey:	Abraham Clark, Elias Boudinot, Silas Condict, John Witherspoon.
Pennsylvania:	John Montgomery, Thomas Smith, George Clymer, Henry Wynkoop, Samuel Atlee.
Delaware:	Samuel Wharton, Thomas McKean.
Maryland:	John Hanson, Turbett Wright, Daniel Carroll.
Virginia:	James Madison, Jr., Theodorick Bland, Arthur Lee, Joseph Jones.
North Carolina:	William Blount, Hugh Williamson.
South Carolina:	John Rutledge, David Ramsay, Ralph Izard, Arthur Middleton, John Lewis Gervais.
Georgia:	Edward Telfair, Noble Wimberley Jones, William Few.

JOHN HANSON, of Maryland, was *President*, and CHARLES THOMSON, of Pennsylvania, *Secretary*.

II.

LETTERS OF COL. ARMAND

(Marquis de la Rouerie).

1777–1791.

LETTERS OF COL. ARMAND.

No. 1. To General Washington.

[No date—no endorsement.]

My General,

i am come into your country to serve her, and perfect my feeble talent for war under the command of one of the gratest generals in the world, of you, my general: since ten year i am employed in the service of france, near my king; i was destinated to be a partisan in the next war; i have proposed to honorable congress, to be employed in your army with this character, but after your agreement; my project was (alway after your agreement) to levy 60. or 80. french soldiers which number would come more considerable when the time and circumstance should give me the opportunity. i have proposed to honorable congress that if my talents were disapprouved in time to come by your excellency, you would put in my place one other officer, and that I would with pleasure obey him in all opportunitys. some members of Congress have advised me to ask of your exelency some french soldiers who are in your army, not understanding the english language and will be more useful in your projects with a french chief. if your exelency accept my proposal, i pray you, my general to regulate my conduct in this respect: and i will be very happy in all time and circumstances to follow the order which your exelency may please to give me, or to other superiors under your command. your

exelency will please to regulate the number of soldiers who will compound this little troop;

for what concerns the officers, i pray my general to give few. the nature and strength of partisants is as well independante of all other companys troops, of all other chief both (but) their own. but they is also in hope, that good conduct may give to every soldier for his advancement in degree; two or three officers would be sufficient; farther-more my general you know better than me what relates to good soldiers, officers and troops; i wait for your orders over all this objects, and i will discharge me of them with respect until the last drop of my blood, i am with greatest respect of your exelency My general, Your most obedient servante

ARMAND.

No. 2. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

[No date—*Endorsed* "From Col°. Armand."]

HONORABLE SIR,

the time employed by the congress to determine something upon the affairs of the marquis de la fayette, gave me an opportunity of speaking for myself; i have asked from the board of war some money to recruit and three commissions for the officers whom I did take with me in albany being approved of it by your excellency; it has been requested from me to tell what kind of recruits i did intended to enlist; i answered any one i can, even some deserters, that having demanded the leave of it to the H^ble^ the congress, i had been referred to your excellency, and that you was so good as to grant me the leave of compleating my regiment even in enlisting some few deserters if i could not meet with a sufficient number of other men; —farther that your excellency did explain his inten-

tion respecting to the Marquis de la Fayette & in consequence of them that i had send M^r^ de Verigny my L^t^ Col. & two other officers to Boston to recruit there; my intention being to join myself to them as soon as i could. General Gates after many visits i have had the honor of paying to him as well as to the board of war, told me that, having once left my regiment, i wanted some new orders from your excellency to rise another; i answered him that i could not present him any such order in writing from you, but that you had given them to me in presence of the marquis de la fayette, giving me at the same time leave of taking again with me two of my officers who have served the whole campaign with me as lieutenants, & for whom i demand the commission of captains which i did promised to them after the promise of it had been made to me by the Marquis de la Fayette, notwithstanding all what i could represent, General Gates has insisted on my going to your excellency to ask his orders & a line concerning the desertors, & and that afterwards he would comply with my requests. may i beg from your excellency to grant me those two favours, & to return me the command of my regiment; from that troop depends the facility with which I shall recruit, and also the manner in which i shall make this present campaign. i entreat your excellency to send me his orders the soonest possible, as i am excessively desirous to be able at the beginning of the campaign of taking every opportunity to prove my zeal & to deserve your applause which is the only reward i am sincerely wishing to obtain.

i have the honour to be with every sentiment of respect of your excellency the most Humble & most obed^t^ servant

ARMAND.

P. S. i shall do myself the honour of waiting upon your excellency to take his answer in my return to Albany.

No. 3. To General Washington.

[Armand's original letter is *in French;* this translation is bound up beside it. The translation is *not* in his handwriting. Neither the original nor the translation are dated or endorsed.]

My General,

The complaints made to you against my Corps are the personal as I desire the command of it from your Excellency, as I love and respect this Corps in the light of a Gift which comes to me from you, and as it is my constant attention to render it, as well as myself, worthy of your Favour: if your Excellency, previous to casting reproaches upon me, with respect to which, from my ignorance of the English tongue I could not justify myself as publickly as I was accused, had done me the Honour to ask me if the object of them was true, I would have answered, that notwithstanding my Care, which I do not make to consist simply in what my Rank requires of me, but in every inferior Duty,—it was possible that some Soldiers had eluded the vigilance of three sentries, and the guard of an officer with nine men, whose Duty their only countersign, is whereever we are to suffer no soldier nor even officer to go out, without written permission from me—and above all to prevent the slightest violation of any private property whatever. And unless I am guilty of it myself among the persons where we are lodged, it is almost impossible that they should have any right to complain. I am ever attentive, not only to prevent such disorder as I have been reproached with, but likewise to make amends for them. Upon my arrival at any place where we only halt to refresh ourselves, I tell the inhabitants if any of your Effects are stolen, or if you are troubled or insulted in any way whatever, come and complain, the person found guilty shall be immediately punished and I will pay you what you shall require. This has happened. I have punished and I have paid; it is not sufficient

to punish and to pay—there should be exemplary punishments, but these do not depend upon me.

I have farther had the honour of informing your Excellency that I have sent Deserters to Court Martial, and that very criminal ones have been sent back to me without any sentence for Punishment, that the men however upon their return to the Corps have received punishment when I have found other motives for it than that of desertion, as for instance Theft—that I have delivered two officers to this same Court Martial, one of them did not deserve to be cashiered—he is a worthy man—the other had deserved it to my knowledge five or six times, was a person who gave trouble whereever he went. I explained the motives for my complaints. I went in person to make them before the Court Martial when sitting—well—the result was nothing at all—not the least punishment. Hence, from such abuses, arises what would trouble, ruin & destroy perhaps entirely an army which had been disciplined ten years—hence, the soldiers comparing the inconveniences of their condition with the slightness of punishments affixed to desertion or any other crime, prefer infinitely to run the risk; hence, no difference between the grades—no subordination of the Major to the Colonel—of the Captain to the Major—and so on to the lowest drummer. The officer who fails not only in the duty of his condition, but likewise in that of an honest man, is the first to demand a Court Martial; and sometimes against one whom Your Excellency has appointed to command and punish him, and who is only wrong in giving an account of his conduct. Under different pretexts some deserters are sheltered from all punishment, by withdrawing themselves even in the bosom of the army; lately I took one from the Master Butcher who had taken him under guard, he has even been re-demanded from me, and there has been an attempt to prove that there was nothing irregular in it. I answered that I would keep him until orders were given by your Ex-

cellency to restore him. Twelve days ago, one of my soldiers who was making our bread went away without permission; this I call desertion. Nevertheless, the head Baker of the army, who desired him to go away, keeps him, and I am deprived of a soldier. With respect to the Trouble, I return to say, we are the troop from which the least proceeds, and that to the knowledge of General Conway strange officers have raised disturbances among us—going so far as to wish to make a Regiment march with charged bayonets against us—it is true that this officer was a Quarter Master, dead drunk, and that the officers of the regiment behaved with propriety—the attempt was to turn us out of the quarters which had been assigned me by General Conway,—the matter was the more difficult, as I had the honor to command the Regiment in that moment—even now, after having quitted those quarters and paid all that was demanded, an officer who had remained on account of business which he had at Head Quarters, is come to tell me that the man, at whose house we were, had complained of robberies committed of his poultry and other animals. As my troop had never been more narrowly watched, I was very sure that the men were not guilty—I immediately dispatched an officer with thirty dollars to pay the damages, praying the man, at the same time, to give a receipt and specify the loss, and to declare if he was sure we were the offenders—he would receive nothing, saying that he had no complaints to make, and that many other soldiers had come into his house during our stay. I stopped to day three drummers, at a mile and a half from their camp, and who had been at the distance of three miles—they were returning with a hen and eggs—they said they had been sent by their Drum Major to fetch the hen & Eggs. I know their names and to what regiment they belong. As to my serving under the orders of General Sterling, I did it as being sent by your Excellency there for the purpose of fighting, and when

that Brigade should lie by, to pass into any other which should happen to be in action. In asking your Excellency for the privilege of independence, I expected to derive from it that of having more frequent opportunities to merit your Excellency's esteem. I have seen that it is impossible for me to arrive at it under the orders of Lord Sterling, notwithstanding his bravery, notwithstanding the rashness that I have seen in him.* I desire to benefit by the title of liberty which I hold from your Excellency, and to avoid as much as you will permit me, the command of a General who, not only has no gratitude for the manner in which one labors for his glory, and the success of your arms, but, on the contrary, diminishes as much as possible, the good that a man has been able, or desires to do, and the ill which he has suffered; who, after having given me some testimony of esteem, lays me under the necessity by causeless and insupportable affronts, as well as all my officers, to offer my resignation which he refuses to accept because we must apply to your Excellency. Upon our return we should have had the honour to resign to your Excellency, if I had not hoped from your justice, that you would have facilitated my progress in the road of honour, from which happily I have never strayed, and in which I should make more rapid advances under your Excellency's orders, if you would be pleased to be persuaded that there is no person in the world who respects them more than I do. If your Excellency does me the honour to restore me to your favour, which I flatter myself I have never forfeited, I will have the honour of offering you means for augmenting my troops; if, on the contrary, you neither believe my reasons nor my innocence, I shall entreat your Excellency to try me upon those motives which my accusers and myself shall offer, either to ruin me or confound them.

* In the original, "quelque brave homme qúil soit quelque temeraire que je," etc[a].

I shall be all my life with respect & submission, your Excellency's most humble and most obed^{t} serv^{t}

ARMAND.

No. 4. TO GENERAL SCOTT.

[Neither date nor endorsement.]

SIR,

i have good reason to believe that the enemy will make his retraite. Yesterday and the day before, i had always some patrouelles near him, and which have see him in most all his side.

i draw provisions to-day for three, and when they shall be distributed, this night i shall march my people, tomorrow, i shall march, farther, and i hope that nothing of the enemy will escape to my knowledge. i shall have the care to send you all news which can be of some interest. if i meet Co^{l} getz, i will engage him to stay with me. You may depend upon my endeavour to take and give to you the best information. So far i may be from you, you shall receive allways the news, if the enemy retraite i shall march after him; indeed, dear General, i do believe that the enemy when he shall retraite will not take other post but his vessel; six vessels remains a little in the other side of Philipp's house, it is very possible that the advanced post of the enemy, after the troops in New Yorck shall be ready to retraite, those advanced posts embarque themselves in those six vessels, and by that way, will have cover the retraite of the enemy, and retire themselves without any danger. i am so persuaded of it, that if those advanced post embarque, i ask you the leave to pass on the rode of New Yorck. i am with the greatest respect, Sir, your most humble and obediante servante

ARMAND.

this night at two o'clock one of my foot patroulles

have stop one sergent and one private of Col. bland dragons, they had not order from nobody, nor contresing, they have spent the night to my quarter, and as I know the sergent, i left them to go to their quarter this morning.

"the right ho[l] Gen[l] Scott, Comandier on the line head quarter."

No. 5. To General Scott.

this 10th October, 1778.

Sir,

my cavalery has taken post to Taretown, i have been myself this evening till past the 29 mile stone. one fregate and two smal ténders are ankerd to phillips house. my infantry is 7 miles behind taretown, being impossible to march her, further by this wether. i receive few lines of compliments from one Cap[t] hessian who come most every days in flag, and never in right order, if he come again, for most nothing as he do, what is to be done. give me your orders i pray you, for my part, i look upon him as upon one officer who is some time out of his caractere, and perhaps he may do some mischief. his party, or himself who he was in flag, put upon the door of one house in taretown one proclamation from G[rl] Clinton. he find me the news inglish papers, and ask of me that i return to him by the first opportunity our news papers. here is included his bill. you may depend upon the securety of this note, and the rider. i am with greatest respect Sir, your most humble and obediante servant

Armand.

to the right ho[l] Gen[ll] Scott, Comandier on the line, head quarter.

No. 6. To General Scott.

[This letter is a copy; the original has been abstracted, and this copy substituted.]

11 October 1778 4 o'clock, P. M.

Sir,

Yesterday at 9 o'clock and half I received one express from Majr Cavalry, by which I learned that according to the orders I had given to him, he was going to take post at Kingsbridge, the enemy having evacuated New York and all his post. I will find you one other (express) to day. Last night I had not one dragoon, and my horses were not here. I shall be nearly at Kingsbridge to-morrow at the first order. I am with the greatest respect, Sir, your most humble and most obediante servante

Armand.

to the rgt hol Genrl Scott, Comandier on the line.

No. 7. To General Scott.

9 o'clock, this 12 of October 1778.

Sir,

i have been to day with twenty dragons, near fort independent, where i have surprized the picquet of the hessians; i have take three horses and carry two prisoners at my quarter, one was taken before we came to the picquet, and the other in the middle of the picquet, with his arms. we take more than twelve, but as the [reasort or report] of the enemy did come upon our right and left, and had great many horses, and we were ready engaged with the second post, we could not cary those men till a place of security without the greatest danger for our retraite, we took only their

arms and gived to them with the sword. one of the horses which I have took did belongs formerly to one toris which caried him to the camp of the enemy, the two others are dragons germains horses. one has bridle and sadle, the other has only his bridle. if it had not been a deep wather [water or weather?] wich i did not know, i had took many officers, and specially the co^{l} who has the command of that post. i must tell you how glad i am to have see our dragons behave with the greatest couradge in that occasion so fine and proper to desert. my voluntaries and officers behaved the same.

from there i have see a great movement with good many bateaux which were going from the land to some vessels which are by fort washington. the were full of people but the did not come back the same to the shore.

the rapport of the first men i have ketz [catch?] tell me just now that his intention was to desert, and i may believe him. he is come to new-yorck with two hundred and thirty germains recrutes since fiveteen days. he told me that it is great mention in their army to retraite from new yorck in fiveteen days. some tolds that the will go to Canada, some in rod island, eight days ago one hessian regiment call'd Stein rg^{mt} is embarked, but they dont know where he is goin. they say that they are four tousand men this side from kingsbridge. they dont know what is in the other side of the bridge. tomorrow i shall send those men to your quarter, one other day i hope we shall do better. i am with the greatest respect, your most humble & ob^{t} serv^{t}

ARMAND.

tomorrow i shall reach the river and shall take post farther up, but it is not foradge in this part.

"to the r^{ght} ho^{l} g^{rl} Scott, Commandier on the line, head quarter."

No. 8. To General Scott.

[No date or endorsement.]

Sir,

Yesterday i have been out according to your desaer, but it was to far and to lait for have any connessence by me self of the enemy. i have march my infanterie till 10 miles from my quarter, it is farther than you desaered and i advanced myself four miles farther; by the rapport of all the inhabitants the enemy was retreated, but two party which i had farther, one to taretown, and the other between me and taretown, reported that they believed the enemy at wait plains, and they heard their drums beating, two voluntaries of the party which is out since before yesterday are not yet come back. i received news of them yesterday night at seven o'clock, but my horses being so taillerd that the could not be able to do any duty to day, i retreated yesterday at leven o'clock, after have given orders to c[t] sharp with five dragons to patrouelle from where i was to taretown, and take post there. some other dragons were further than Claps tavern road, or the other between them. i may answer for taretown road, and some others upon the left.

if you would allow me to tell you ones my opinion upon our party so often surpreased, I would pray you to keap the secret upon with whatsoever person. i love your country, your officers and all which do belong to them, but they make sometimes such faults against the good sence of their service that if our enemy was not out of his head he could do the greatest mischief. several time i have pass at Claps tavern, and found most allways the centinell, this side from the tavern and from his picquet; specially in the night. and the all horses without sedle or bridle, by that way twelve men may very easy took fivety in such securety. i believe it is more the fault "of the centinell" than of the officer, because during the officer sleep, the centinell may go where he is pleased and certainly his

stand behind the picquet is better for himself than to stand before. i expect news every moment, you shall receive them exactly, yesterday I detached one dragon to Col. getz, in fear he could be surprized.

i am with the greatest respect, Sir, your most humble and obediante servante ARMAND.

to the rg^{ht} h^{ol} g^{rl} Scott, C^{dr} on the line, head quarter.

No. 9. TO LIEUT. COL. HAMILTON.

this 5th N^{bre} 1778.

SIR,

i received your favour as i was going to cross the river, i am very much obliged to you for have granted our men with what they were wanting, it is some necessary articles from which here is inclosed the return, and that we could not draw here as it was expected. i sent to you the letter from the clother master here, if you would sign the return for fiskill or philadelphia, according to the facility for transporting those things i would draw them in one of those places or in the other.

as we are not able and specially myself to get of for philadelphia with the few money which i have, and having giv'd most all to our men and officers, i send c^{pt} berth with the pays rolls and musters rolls in purpose to draw the pay from the solgears. i pray you Sir to give him the necessary orders for make haste in that affaire; beside that we are wanting now for that money, i could not draw it in philadelphia, and then would be obliged to make several voyages unnecessary.

our men are marching to their destination under good and wise officers, they will be there on few days. after your answer i shall joign them for give better orders in their quarter, and from there i shall go to philadelphia.

i pray you instantly to give to my servante the certificat which his Excellency honored me with, for have less trouble. You could adjonte to the same certificat what his Excellency would judge proper. it is very necessary for my business to have it specially with the Congres, and our embassador; i pray you Sir grant me with that proof of your friendship. my servant will wait after your answer, and the certificat, for Cap^{t} berth will make all despeash if you are willing to help him for draw the dew money and joign me to—Expecting here only my servant and then i shall joign the corps, as soon as C^{pt} berth shall be back to us i shall set out for philadelphia where i intend to finish all my business. afterwards i shall go the corps and from there to head quarters.

i am with all consideration Sir, your most humble and obediente servante, ARMAND.

L^{t} Co^{l} hamilton Aide de Camp of his Excellency G^{rl} Washington, head quarter.

[ENCLOSURE *referred to in N^{o}* 9.]

LIST *of wanting necessaries for Col^{o} Armand Indep^{t} Corps, which are to be had in Store at Fishkill the* 25th 9th '78.

Knapsacks	Woolen breach	Worsted Caps	Long guetres p^{rs}	Cloaks	Linnen Wraks
100	141	141	112	24	24

ARMAND.

No. 10. To General Washington.

[No date—Endorsed thus: "From Col Armand, delivered at Fishkill 9th Novem. 1778."]

Sir,

i take the liberty to acquaint your Exellency with the necessity which i am under to beg your goodness.

the bord of war to which i made my application for have the commissions of my officers answered that he never had received any liste and power from your Exellency to grant them with their expectations. Not one of them has make the least objection to march to the enemy without his commission, and i swer that they engaged them selves with the same bravery and confidence, which they had had if their commissions had been granted to them. i pray your Exellency to consider that i have not make myself one officer in my corps without authority exept three lieutenants which were of one indespensable necessity.—the congres and bord of war say that as soon your Exellency shall approve the nomination of my officer they shall be granted with their commissions, so they desaer your approbation for the raising of my dragons company.

in respect to my own business, i beg as a favour of your Exellency to order me in a reasonable, for i will never ask nor obtain anything without your good wish. Since two years i am in your army, i never received any appointment nor gratification, i have done my endeavour to answer the favour of Congress and your Exellency which honoured me with the commission of Crl if your Excellency judge that i deserve to be promoted to the rank of brigadier, i pray you give me one recommendation to the congress upon that object. if you do not judge that i deserves it, i am satisfied considering that i have not other judge here than your Excellency and the soldgear under my comand if had been possible to go in france only by permission of

your Exellency and the congress, i had been glad to conserve the command of my corps, which i had so much trouble to raise. the warm desaer to stay all my life under your command is the only motive which make me ask that favour.

in the both case if i conserve that comand or not, i beg your Exellency to take the old corps anexed to me from the new one being impossible that the officiere in the both side live well altogether. good many of my officer want to go to france, i may assure your Exellency that the soldgears will all desert if they are not under the immediat comand of the officer who enlisted them. for prevent such thing it would be good if pleased to your Exellency to order me to one quarter far from the line and nearer to the congress ; the few times which they had been to the lines has been so hard that specially the cavallery want for some reparations.

in purpose to give the least trouble i can to your Exellency, i present to you the list of the favour which i beg of your goodness.

i am with the greatest respect of your Exellency Sir, the most humble and obediante servante

ARMAND.

to his Exellency G^rl^ Washington, Comandier in Chief of the forces of the United States of America.

[ENCLOSURE *referred to.*]

LEAST of the officer in my corps which have not commissions, and are employed in their present places since the date following their name.

Cp^t^ Mercley 7 of April 1778
Cp^t^ Shafner 7 of April 1778
l^t^ Sharp 7 of April 1778

these three have been in the service with commissions, most time since the beginning of this *war.*

l^t^ ducoss 7 of April 1778

l^t^ sibert May 1778
l^t^ segner juin 1778
Cp^t^ berth May 1778
M^jor^ de laumagne 7 of April 1778

M^jor^ de laumagne had his commission promised and the mq^uis^ de lafayette had ask it to the Congress.

Cap^t^ mercley, shafner, sharp came with me to Albany with permission and order of his Exellency, and in that time the mq^uis^ de lafayette assured me that he would do his endeavour for have their commissions— so i promised to them. if was the pleasure of his Exellency to date their commissions from that time, it is the *nine of febructary* 1778.

Approbation from his Exellency for my dragons. the commission of brigadier for me.

No. 11. To General Washington.

this 17 N^bre^ 1778.

Sir,

I had beg as a favour of your Exellency to honoured me with a recommendation to the h^ol^ Congress for grant my officers with their commissions, and myself with the commission of a brigadier, in case i could be granted with those Expectations, i would beg of your Exellency a certificat of my services and allow me to go back to france. but if i cannot obtain the commissions of my officers, i would look upon myself as a teaf which had robed the confidence and the time of my officers and sacrificed their lifes with cruelty, by promising them after good authority what i could not obtain. for my rank i dont say i deserves it, your Exellency is my judge, but if i am not able to be granted with, i will stay in the service till more proper opportunity may obtain it from your Exellency.

as i had never time to prise myself to the h^ble^ Congress, i may suppose that he shall heard me with a

very cold attention, then Sir, i left my character and my fortune in your hand.

As your Exellency desaer that mine men shall march as soon as they shall be mustered, i took the liberty to represente to your Exellency that those men have been upon a very hard duty during some times that they want for great many things before they shall be able to march, and specially that the officers are not commissioned and out of any money. M^r^ Shott which told me that he was independant by his commission, has taken his men, and is separated from me with my great satisfaction, him and his officers having (as they persuade everybody) so great authority to head quarters, that they would put me reither under their command than obey to mine. And which to the first difficulty which they had with my others officers, which they reproached often to have not commissions, told them come with me to head quarter the men from M^r^ Shott having in few time their time out, and mine being inlisted for three ears, it same to be a great justice that the officers which enlisted them have the command upon them.

in case your Exellency would ordered the corps to march, i am ready myself to command our march with him every where your Exellency shall be pleased, but that corps wants to be recruited and if i stay here i shall ask that favour to your Exellency.

as some officer shall left the corps if i'l go to france, for go there themselves, and some others are very besy in philadelphia, they would be glad if the corps could rest a little.

the congres want of your Exellency approbation for my dragons without it they cannot receive anythings they are wanting of. the g^rl^ Scott may have told your Exellency that those dragoons have served under his comand with his satisfaction.

if i go to france and is the pleasure of your Exellency, i shall finish all my account for money to the Congress, being as i believe under the necessity to

give several bills of change upon france, for paying good eal of the expences, which we have been obliged to make in recruiting.

i am with the greatest respect, of your Exellency the most humble and obediante servante

ARMAND M' DE LA ROUERIE.

to his Exellency g^rl Washington, Comandier in chief of the forces of the United States of America.

No. 12. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

, philadelphia this 20 Jan. 1779.

SIR,

When the counte pulaski was going to left this country, i had asked of your Exellency the command of his corps, and if i had been granted with by your Exellency, not any difficulty whatsoever would have taken place, but i believe that the Counte has no more the same project.

i could perhaps have from Congress the rank of brigadier if my rank of ancienté amongs my country men here, and mine services were well considered; but that promotion being antaerly against the right of great many of your officers, which i want to be my friends as they are reither than have a higher command over them, i dont think now in the least of that rank.

the congress have good wishs for me, and have ready given the proof of it, but Sir you know that since the first day i joigned the army i have not wish in anny time what to do the least thing without your approbation, so i will continue to do.

having not other means to have a stronger command, i wish to recrute again; and i think that i could have good many of french men and somme Americains

which if not pleased amongs foreigners, could be exchanged for the french soldears in several regiments of your army.

in respect to the germains, if you would allow me to recrute with such men only what could be necessary to complete my germains company, i do believe that being amongs the others ready ordered and acquainted with our customes they would be great deal better than when my corps was entirely of recrutes.

as when i was ordered to joign the army, i had not only had the time to reflect upon my people, i beg of your Excellency to allow me to quarter my men in Sprinkfield or other places near about Boston, where i can have every necessary things to my corps.

if by the number of my recrutes, i wanted for some more officers, your Exellency would give me such officers which you would be pleased with, and if my recrutes in french men were in great number i could took for officers some of my voluntaries which have ready commissions.

beside that if your Exellency was pleased with, when my corps would joign the army in the next juin, you could send to it, all the french officers without place, which by that way could do more honour to my nation, and be least troublesome to your Exellency.

i beg of your Exellency to give me such order that with them or those from Congress, i am not obliged to come again several time in philadelphia.

i am with the greatest respect your Excellency, the most humble and obediante servante

ARMAND.

his Exellency Gr^l^ Washington, Commandier in Chief of the forces of America, head quarter.

[*Endorsed*—Philadelphia, 20 Jan^y^ 1779, from Co^l^ Armand. Ans^d^ 21^st^.]

STATEMENT *of Corps, accompanying preceding letter.*

	Privates.	Corporals.	Sergents.	Officers.
My company of dragons	36	3	3	3
my company of chasseurs	72	4	4	3
first company of fusillers	40	3	3	2
second company of fusillers	40	3	3	2

1 quartermaster—1 adjutant—1 major—1 C^{rl}

if were recrutes enough for forming others company, and your Exellency would not judge proper to give the wanted officers, i could have one hundred men in every company, only with one officer more in every one.

No. 13. TO MAJOR GENERAL HEATH.

boston the 25 of March 1779.

SIR,

the l^{t} colonelcy of my corps being vacant, i am exceedingly desirous if possible to have Major lyman your oldest Aide de Camp appointed to that office. nothing could flatter me more than to serve with that gentleman, who beside his charactere having the advantage to be born Americain, is more acquainted than any foreigner with the law and costumes of this country, and could be on several subjects of a great help to me. i am uncertain of my succés in recruiting but in the meantime, if they were according to my desire, i would be in some kind effrayed that Congress would send me for l^{t} co^{l} one foreigner officer who should be perhaps of more disadvantage to the service than of any good, should he be the most courageous and learned officer.

if you have not objection to the promotion of mj^{or} lyman, when i say objection, i understand if your friendship for him could allow you to leat him go from you, i wish you wrait to his Exellency g^{rl} washington, from

who only I will expect and deserve my good fortune, and in the truis the comon father of all solgears ; i dont doubt but your recommendation shall have all the succés which i can only desire.

with the greatest respect your Exellency, the most humble and obediante servante,

ARMAND.

His Exellency Mj^{or} G^{rl} heath.

No. 14. To MAJOR GENERAL HEATH.

Sink sing this 8th of N^{bre}, 1779.

SIR,

the day before yesterday i advanced with my corps to taretown in order to be more in readiness to know when the enemy should retraite to the other side of kingbridge, and trayed to pict up some of their rear guard in their retraite ; yesterday morning i heard that Mj^{or} bermore was come from new-yorck to his house three miles below delancis bridge and upon the sound river. i marched my infantery and dragoons by mile square road, and halted till night four miles this side of willams bridge, betwixt five and six, i marched my men, put a post of infantery upon williams bridge and the rest of the infantery hundred yard from the bridge behind stone walls. this was in order to keep C^{rl} warm from cutting of my retraite, what he could do only by willams bridge; then i advanced with twenty two dragoons to mj^{or} bermore quarter which my men surrundered, as not to let pass one man. i came out from my horse, and came into the house where i had the pleasure of taking prisoner Mj^{or} bermore, and five men more belonging to the king service, five horses saddles &C.

As my order was that no dragoon should come out from his horse to plunder, we have lefted the house most as it was when we came in. i had forbid plunder because in that time bermore men could assemble to-

gether, that i was five miles and more behind C^rl Warm, and that others troops of the enemy were incamped betwixt two and three miles from Mj^or bermore quarter; i was effrayed that in loosing time i should louse my prise which i considered to be good, and perhaps louse all my men, being so far of anny support as they were.

i have not burned the house nor anny of the things that were in, as the same had done no good to the country.

i retraited as fast as i could till taretown, where all my men followed me without the least accident, nor desertion; as they have been extremely fatigued, and obey my orders in not plundering, i have given them four hundred dollars.

we are all here now, and tomorrow as we want some day to repose, i shall march to the mouth of crotton river.

i desire this news of bermore being taken may please to you and his Exellency g^rl wasington, and the enterprise be looked upon as a prooff of my respect and gratitude to this country.

With great respect, Sir, your most humble and obediante servante,

ARMAND.

bermore is very unwell, by the fattigue of his journey to my quarter. as soon as he 'l be better i shall send him to you with the rest of the prisoner, one say that he was ready taken and on parole, but as he was with bermore i had not time to consider upon the matter, so he is with me.

No. 15. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

MY GENERAL,

The time of my service in America, compared with that of certain French officers, to whom Congress had

granted promotion, induced me to solicit last winter the commission of brigadier general. The committee, which Congress did me the honor to name for my affairs informed me that for the time being it was impossible to grant my request; because it would conflict with the present arrangement of the army, especially as I had served but one campaign; but that at the end of the next campaign, which is the campaign just passed, I should be honored with that commission. I consequently acquainted my family, monseigneur the Prince of Condé, and M. the Marechal Duc de Biron with the promise I had obtained. If I should fail to be made a brigadier, it would certainly appear that I had lost by my conduct, not only the good will of Congress, but all hope of interesting them in my behalf. Nevertheless I am sensible that this promotion may not be agreeable to our army. With this idea only, I would consent, if your Excellency would leave it to my choice, to enter the army of the South, where there are fewer generals and senior colonels than here; and where also, the death of Count Pulaski seems more justly to indicate that place for me rather than others on account of the number of Germans and French here, both officers and soldiers.

And my commission as brigadier granted for this purpose, could in no way strengthen the pretentions to the same grade of other French officers who have served here for they do not find themselves in the same case with me of adding to the army a corps of their own. But before my departure I beg your Excellency to honor me with a letter to Congress, or a certificate of which I give you my word of honor to make no mention either to Congress, or the ambassador, before the action of Congress is completed.

If I should remain in the army here, I should find myself obliged to abandon my claims to the rank of brigadier general, for I myself perceive that they would be ill timed and perhaps injurious to officers, whose services equal or surpass mine in deeds or

seniority. I would submit with pleasure to the principle which a just discipline and respect for the seniority of officers prescribe for me in this matter. In that case the testimonials which your Excellency would grant me would be of the highest importance for the security of my honor. In either case I give my word to make no use, for the purpose of obtaining the commission of brigadier, of the certificate or letter with which I may be honored.

Whether I depart for Georgia or remain here, I beg your Excellency not to withhold that approbation which will be a lasting honor to myself and my family and I beg to assure you that I am and always will be ready to abandon any idea of promotion and all other desires of a personal character which might embarrass your Excellency or not be in accordance with your estimate of my services. The money which I have at the war office will serve me for the arrest of deserters and to gain some recruits; but I am aware that new orders from your Excellency are necessary for these purposes.

I take the liberty of assuring your Excellency that the outfits of my dragoons were purchased with my private funds, belong to me. . . . I would not demand cash if paper money had not fallen in value to such a degree and so inadequate to the bills of exchange which I have drawn on France, that at the present moment my means are somewhat disordered. I pray your Excellency to have the goodness to give me your final orders respecting the subjects of this letter and of those which Colonel Hamilton had the honor to communicate to you recently, in order that I may follow the plan of conduct necessary to the business of the corps and to the great respect with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

ARMAND.

[The foregoing is a translation from a copy.]

No. 16. To General Washington.

philadelphia 7 octo. 1780.

Sir,

in the action at Camden where we lost our Baggages—the ennemy took the most valuable part of my fortune which was the letters & certificats your Exellency had been pleased to reward my services and conduct with—could I hoppe that the great goodness of your Exellency could enduce you to repear that lost by a new thestimony of your approbation—I wishes more than ever to have an opportunity of deserving it.

With the gretiest respect, Your Exellency's, Sir, the most H^ble^ obe^dt^ St.

Armand.

His Exellency G^rl^ Washington Comandier in chief of the Americain and french auxilliaries Army's Headquarter.

[*Endorsed:* Philad^a^ Octob. 7. 1780. from Col^o^ Armand. New certificates transmitted by Col^o^ Hamilton—29^th^ octo.]

No. 17. To General Washington.

[Endorsed: Philadelphia 21^st^ Nov. 1780. from Col. Armand—Answ^d^ 27^th^.]

Philadelphia 21^st^ N^bre^ 1780.

Sir,

I have been honored with the orders of your Exellency given to me in a lettre of the 5^th^ N^bre^ the contains of it were so nearly connected with the succés of a petition which I had put at that time under the consideration of Congress, that it was out of my power sooner to answer your favor—the promotions granted

to my countrymen in consideration of smalls times of services had persuaded me that they were not promoted according to the just rotation of ranks and prćtentions in the army at large. from thence I considered the french officers in this service as making a line amongst themselves, and in that line my services authenticated—and put to an estimable value by the goodness of your Exellency. I found myself more entitled to a promotion—I pettitioned for it—I was twice denied of my prétentions but at those times they were perhaps more established upon the jealousy which others promotions gived to me than upon a real principle which must have been the time of my services and a longuer proof of the promotion of others. I beg leave to say here that respect did so much attached me to your Exellency that so long my honor could be preserved I was determined to trayed under your command the events of a war which otherwise after two or three campaigns could not offer to me not only satisfaction in this country but even a great deal more advantages at home; last year I saw myself going out of your Exellency's immédiat command, and I did not sooner begun my journey that I regréted the happyness and advantages which I lieved behind. I served under g^{rl} gates and by no means nature had put me when I was born under the necessity of being traited like a slave. Hoever it was my fate, and I subdued myself entaerly to it, hopping that fortune reserved me a better one—after the defeat at Campden I wint to Congress to know what were their will on respect to my legion, if it was to be remounted & reunited or not; I had also resolved to ask to be promoted. I fell so sick for a month that I could do no business, but as soon as I recovered my health, I presented a petition to Congress for promotion, my former pettition was this—that should I be promoted I would not take the command of no older colonels than I, but even on all occasions confine myself to the command of my legion. Congress could mantion my purposal

to your Exellency and by that it was impossible to me even if willing to do it, to take more command than I had myself stipulated. this pettition was rejected, then I presented this, that should I be granted with the commission of brigadier, I would immediately in order to quiet the jealousy it might give in the army go to france and feach from there the equipement for the legion, I mantioned that this voyage considered as a service payed to America, together with four compeignes would justify my promotion to the eyes of the army—this request was rejected. I would not be sincere if I did not mantion here that I established in my memorial as one of the valuable principe of my promotion the promotion of C^rl^ Morgan, who having spented two years at home had no so long services than I in this country, whoever I was promoted to give that reason, by Congress telling me that there were olders C^rls^ than I in the army—C^rl^ Morgan being under the same disadvantage I could not be silent upon his succés in Congres, this reason having some weight they told me that I was not the older C^rl^ of the horses—by no means did I answered, because I was never put in the line of the cavallery, nor had I ever any command in that line. after this they told me that promotions took place in the line of the several States? What state do I belongs to have I asked to non was I answered—When then shall I have the right to be promoted—When you are the very oldest colonel in the army. from these particulars your Exellency may judge of my case which appears to me under such disadvantage that I desired Congress to accept of my resignation and leat me go to france,—the ambassador told me to day that they were not disposed to see me leave the service and that they will not resolve before I make another pettition—I believe of my duty, and that duty I feel more into my hart to wrait your Exellency on the matter and I wishes it could be convenient to give me your advice and help me on the occasion.

the promotions granted to strangers hurt me really at such a degree in france that I could not remain longer with the same commission under the present government. the only motive which Congress appears to have for not grant my demand is the jealousy it would rise in the army—perhaps your Exellency would be of advice that if being granted with the commission of brigadier disgusted C^rls^ of older date than I, so far as to persuad them to resign on that account, I was to promise to your Exellency to resign my position of brigadier as soon as it would hurt so far the feelings of the officers, and keap my command of Colonel, it would prevent resignations and trouble—Another way could be to appoint a board of officers in the army and my reasons being layed before them ask their oppinion & determination—I take the liberty to reffere entaerly the decision of that matter to your Exellency, and to put under your consideration that my meaning is not to have a larger command—not to extend it over more officers—nor proudness—but the necessity of preserving at home the character which I had there whence I came over.

With the greatest respect your Exellency's, Sir, the most h^ble^ ob^t^ S^t^,

ARMAND.

His Exellency G^rl^ Wasington Commandier in chief of the American forces and french troops in the Continent, head quarter.

No. 18. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

New windsor, January 11^th^ 1781.

SIR,

it was not in my power to finish sooner with Congress the business of the legion, and yet I have not anny *prospect* of establishing that corps on a *proper*

footing & according to the *command* I received from your Exellency, the *board of war* tells me, that they have no *clothing*, *arms*, nor *horses* & that they do not expect to have money to putchass those articles for the time they shall be wanted, as for the men having no money to expect, I made a proposal to Congress, upon which they have come to the resolve here enclosed—from those your Exellency may know how many difficulties attend my wishes & succés & how far I am still of having at last a true respectable command. I beg to be forgiven if I dare say here my oppinion upon the whole of that business & wishes in the meantime your Exellency would give me his sentiments and orders accordingly. Had I not been honored with the good will which is shewed to me in your last letter—did all your words and commands not be powerfull over my hart as comming from the sole and only otherity and persone in America who I do serve, I beg your Exellency will forgive my frankness, but as no flattery is about my word, I hoppe your Exellency will see nothing in it farther than the expression of a soldier whose life and fortune are entaerly devoted to that one which my reason and inclination have chusen for master. Had I not been in that situation of mind, I would have put an end to all my troubles by retiring immediately from the service—but my resolution being to continue under your command, & in the meantime to be able to increase in you the esteem of which your Exellency has been so complaisant as to assure me. I purpose to set off for france with C^rl^ lawrence & bring from there the equipments and clothing for the legion. I offer to make the advance of the money for the putchass of those articles, provided Congress will engage to pay it again in three or for years & the interest of it every years. I do not want to spent more than three weaks in france for the performing of that business, but I put under the consideration of your Exellency, if it should not be necessary that previous to my journey to france the remainder of the

legion should be called this way where it would be properly taken care of—the officers receive their men when drafted form them together, and get the horses —by those means everything would be ready at my arrival and the legion take the field few days after. I must confess to your Excellency that since my going from the legion, a bad order has prevailled in it—the officers for the greatest part will neither quite the service, than to continue to the suthern—the men will desert & should the corps remains where it is I would not found one man and perhaps not one officer at my return. I am sorry to say that my Major since in Carolina & specially since I quitted the legion has not proved himself entaerly equal to his command—and that it appears that many disorders have taken place from not paying his whole attention to his business—this and other reasons taken from my wishes for the good of the service have persuaded me to ask a l^{nt} c^{rl} to your Exellency, and to recommend for that post l^{t} c^{rl} ternant, whose services and merite your Exellency is allready acquainted with. I am considered that he would answer the confidence with which you would honore him on that head—& that during my journey to france he would put the things in such order as to enable the legion to take the field at my return—l^{nt} c^{rl} tenant expect his exange every days—Should your Exellency approve of my plan and my wishes that the legion should serve to the north the next campaign & should be called back at this time, I would be happy to receive your orders and recommendations to Congress as soon as convenient to your Exellency. I have here a plan for the arrangement of the officers which I will take the liberty to put under your consideration.

With the greatest respect of your Exellency Sir, the most h^{ble} ob^{dt} s^{t},

ARMAND.

His Exellency G^{rl} Wasington Commandier in Chief

of the Americain forces & the french army in America, Headquarter.

[*Washington's* Endorsement: "Col. Armand 11th Jany. 1781."]

No. 19. To General Washington.

4th febv 1781.

Sir,

the situation in which I do find myself in this country is so different from that of all others the french officers who have come to serve here that it does become necessary for me to take extraordinary precautions in returning home, otherwise I shall find myself in worse circumstances for having made greater sacrifices—my not having been promoted after four years services will be an argument of so powerful a nature against me as will require the strongest testimonies to fight against it—your Exellency is the only friend I have found in this country, and the marks I have been so happy as to receive of your bounty, makes me bold in this last application before I take my departure—it is that you will favor me with a letter to the marechal duc de Biron, my ancient Colonel, expressing your approbation of my conduct and the reasons for what I could not be promoted—this I can assure to your Exellency will be a most flattering demarch towards the mareschal, & will be of great benefit to me. I do not know that it has been customary for you to give similars letters to others of my countrymen, but I hope my peculiar situation and your goodness for me will induce you to make a distinction in my favour. I have the less hesitation in making this entreaty as though you have not in all probability a correspondence with the mareschal duc. I am certain he will think it the highest honor to receive a letter from the father of the American revolution, and I believe letters of this kind

to be uncustomary when officers of one nation serve in the army of another.

I shall have the greatest obligation to your Exellency for your compliance, and shall be happy in every occasion of testifying to you the gratitude as well as the admiration respect & attachment with which I have the honor to be your Exellency's the most h^ble & ob^t s^t,

ARMAND.

his Exellency G^rl Washington, Head quarter.

No. 20. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

boston 17^th August 1781.

SIR,

I arrived here yesterday after fivety days passage from france. I have been so lucky as to answer the purpose of my journey there—having with me the clothing and equipments for the legion—fire lock and shoes for the foots men excepted. I knew that a large quantity of the first of those articles was send to Congress & could not get the shoes at time to set of by the oportunity of the frigate we came in.

we convoyed two ships from france which were loaded with warley stores for your Exellency's army —one of them a brig was dismasted of both its masts, and being not in a condition to proceed on nor to be repared at sea—she was send to Spain from whence she was only three hundred miles distant—the other which is the largest ship is safe arrived.

we were bound to philadelphia, but contrary winds forced us to make land at this port—the cap^t of our frigate has send the day of our arrival an officer to M^r de baras at Newport—for have from him directions where to go—I expect the orders will be for philadelphia—if that place is not too much intercepted by the

british shipping—what persuad me most that your Exellency would reither have us go there is M^r^ otis the agent for Congress who told us that should the cargo be delivered into his hands—he could not with the most precise orders and the utmost exertions forward it to the army or philadelphia before the middle of next *winter* by which lost of time some of the articles wanted now would arrive perhaps when they should be no more wanted and the carrying of them by land make such an adition to their first cost as to be reither hurtfull than of great advantage—M^r^ hancox the governor has been asked his advice on that matter—and after letting us of the difficulty of the land carriage was of opinion that the captain trusted with the care of the cargo should conduct himself by the directions of M^r^ de baras.

C^rl^ laurence sett of from france eighteen or nineteen days before us and was bound for philadelphia—we heard here nothing of his arrival.

As soon it is determine what is to be done, I shall take my way to head quarter supposing that the frigate should not go to philadelphia—but if she was to go there immediately I will go with her.

the king in paying the greatest attention to the recommendation which your Exellency had honoured me with for the marshall duc de biron has given me the cruce of St. louis and looked upon my services under your command as if I had done the same and with the same rank in his own service.

I wishes it was in my power to show and to tell how I feel the great obligations I am under since this war to your Exellency. I daresay here that I cannot give you a better proof of my thankfulness and respect than in leaving again my country—and chuse to continue in the one where general washington looking upon me as one of his most faithfull servants will permit me to follow my military fortune under his command.

I do not take the liberty to mention here of the state of the legion, not knowing how it is—and be-

ing assured that Congress will or has already done without difficulty keep their promises to me—I have as much more confidence in them, that every things on that head was done with the approbation of your Exellency and your advice.

the marshal de biron had the honor to answer your letter—I take the liberty to keep it by me until I may have the opportunity to deliver it myself to your exellency.

I am with the gretiest respect, your exellency's, Sir, the most humble obe^{dt} servante

ARMAND.

his exellency George Washington Commandier in Chief of the Ameriquain army and french army in Amerique head quarter.

[*Endorsed:* Boston 17 August 1781, from Co^{lo} Armand]

No. 21. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Camp this 14 Octo. 1781.

SIR,

the remaining of the legion are quartered in a such sickly place that many of the men being sick and one died few days ago. the officers wishes your exellency would permit them to take a quarter two or three miles further where the men can be better accommodated and keep better their health—the quarter which they request to go at, is near the half wayhouse no further than six miles from yorck.

had your exellency not been engaged in such important business I would have taken the liberty to give you an account of the proceedings of Congress towards raising and remounting the legion—they have resolved that four half johann should be given to me for every man enlisted in the legion—& that the num-

ber of horses wanted should be furnished. I expect avery days an officer which I left behind at philadelphia to bring on the first advance of money—as soon as he shall arrive & your exellency be more at lessure I beg leave to put the matter under your consideration in a more particular manner—

the case I am in—to find at my return from france my troop reduced instead of being increased as it was promised to me by Congress is by all means unfortunate a circumstance for me. I have no command in an opportunity where the french army act with Americains—should your exellency have no objection I could perhaps dismount what cavalery remains here & whatsoever small might be that command, I could act with them at the time of the seige where even a small number may be of some advantage & should be so much happyer on such an occasion that it would be a means perhaps of giving your exellency a new proof of the very great respect with which I have the honor to be your exellencys, Sir, the most humble ob^{t} S^{t},

ARMAND.

[*Endorsed:* from Colo. Armand, 14 October 1781. Ans^{d} 15.]

No. 22. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

this 21st Octo. 1781.

SIR,

I enclose here a copy of my recruiting instructions from the board of war which I received yesterday. Cap^{t} Shaffner wrait to me that he shall receive immediately the first advance of money. I expect him here every moment.

I was by no means anxious to recruit but as no other way could procure me an honourable command I must do it—my hopes of succés on all occasions but more

particularly on this lay with the assistance of your exellency will have agreeable to give to me.

I take the liberty to enclose also two resolve of congress which passed on the occasion of my going to france—the first mantion a draught of six men from every regiment—maybe your exellency would be of opinion to let me have a smaller proportion like fourty or fivety men out of the new england troops which are now here—the purpose of that number would be to lay immediately the foundation of the legion—to exercise the recruits—which would be the only means to avoid having a corps entaerly new raised—the other resolved passed the 23^{d} of January 1781—say that the quarter master be directed to furnish me with horses —I believe that no better opportunity for the legion nor sheapest one for the united states may be offered to supply me with horses than to take what number is wanted out of those taken with Cornwallis provided your exellency will not dispose of them in another way—the number wanted is 120—& as congress mean to have them purchased they will be delivered to me by smals quantity & of course I shall not be able to get the men learned how to rid nor the horses broken to manœuvre—beside this, men will reither enlist when they see their horses. I beg your exellency would consider all the difficulty that will otherwise attend my getting horses—& that those I have had were got on my own money or out of the Continental stables—those last were taken amongs wagons horses and never were fitt for cavallery.

I want, as I wrote in my first lettre to your exellency, the whole set of arms, cartridge boxes & shoes for the infantry—the m^{quis} de la fayete having taken out of the smals magazins of the legion a quantity of sadles bridles pistols swords & other articles belonging to the horses & men & on which I depended. I wishes your exellency would have them reamplaced by a proportion token out of these of the enemy, & also the articles which I have mentioned for the infantery.

I have six officers of the legion now prisoners of war—they are l^t C^ll ternan, cap^t le brun, cap^t best & three lieutenants. I had made an application to the Count de grass to know if with your permission he could exange them or the three first—the l^nt C^rl & the two captains—he answered that he was willing to do it, but that he will deliver the prisoner he has to your exellency and the count de rochambeau—& from thence has expectations that my officers will be exanged—the three former are much wanted at this time—the two captains were taken at Camden—it will be difficult for me to recruit & break to soldiery duties & life the new men of those two captains as well, fast & regularly as they would do it themselves. C^rl ternan by his industry & talents could help and forward my succés—& no jealousy may arise from their being exanged the prisoners taken by the french—as for the three lieutenants they will not be immediately wanted until the corps is half compleated.

I beg your exellency would appoint me the place of *rendesvous* for the recruits & the troop somewhere in virginia or near of in maryland—my reason for this are, that hard money has not yet got in large quantity in these states—and that of course the men will enlist for a lower prise—the other is that the people after the taking of Cornwallis will be more spirited in those states where the succés has taken place and more anxious to intreat in the service. in the northern states I could find no others than foreigners & indeed they can never make up a respectable corps.

will your exellency give me leave to enlist the men who are enlisted only for eighteen months.

I have the honor to be with the gretiest respect and on all occasions, Your most h^ble ob^dt & devoted servante

ARMAND.

his Exellency General Washington head quarter.

No. 23. To General Washington.

Charlotteville January 25th 1782.

Sir,

1. I have not till this day made any report of the legion to your Exellency because I had not received the clothing & accoutrements of that corps, & of course could not form or give any idea of the time at which he could take the field—at last the whole of the equipment arrived at richmond by water, & I had it brought hereby my own means, I mean in paying myself the carriage of it—five hogsheads the remainder of thirty two which contained the equipment & clothing had been left at richmond for want of wagons are expected this very day to this post. I mantion here my paying for the transportation of the articles above mantioned to show that the quarter master department in this part of the country is in the most deplorable condition or those employed in it in want of application to their business the consequence of which in both cases is at least a considerable delay in affairs.

2. I have taillers & others worksmen the greatest part of them soldiers the legion employed for that corps since twelve days & I expect to march off in six weeks, provided I am *furnished very soon with the remainder of the money destined for the recruiting of the legion which is by great deal the largest sum—& I receive the complement of horses which from the loss of those died from sickness since* we are at this post will *amount to sixty.* Capt Shaffner told me your exellency saw in the road near Williamsburgh the horses I had drawn out of those taken at York—therefore I will not mantion here the condition they were in —but I request that the sixty which will be given to me may be as good as the best the others regiments of horse have—should *those horses* & the *remainder of the money* not come in a very short time it would be impossible to me to ever form the legion, and what

trouble I have hitherto taken on that purpose would have answered *no advantages* to the public nor *satisfaction* to me—hoever your exellency being the *proper judge* of what can promote the first of these two point & leaving intirely the case of *the second* with you, when I shall be honoured with an answer to this the sense of it will entirely determine my opinion of the justice of Congress either in keaping their engagement with me, or declining from it. I dare say your exellency will be persuaded by this that the propriety of their proceedings in this last instance would have a right on my judgement only through the force which your approbation will & wishes will have forever on Colonel Armand.

3. the governor of Virginia would not permit me to recover from the people those horses taken at York and for which I had your orders, fearing your disapprobation of my acting on such matter against the wishes and I may say determination of the magistrature & in the meantime the wishes of the people, I have not endeavoured to recover any—otherwise it would have been an advantage to the public as a great part of the horses wanted in the legion could have been got in that way. I inclose a copy of what the Governor wrait me on that subject.

4. I have sent to General lincoln a return of the officers of the legion—mantioning those which quitted the service last year, & those which agreeably to your command & leave given to me last winter to appoint myself the officers wanted have reamplaced them. I have only three in every company, not knowing if the addition of one in each troop which Congress have ordered while I was from America is extended to the legionary corps.

5. I take the liberty to enclose here a copy of an act of the assembly of Virginia which by taking from the quarter masters and commissarys all means of supplying continental troops has reduced us to the most distressed condition. I have done my best to

have the legion supplied by the state on account for the continent & I must confess myself under obligation to the Governor which has done something for us on the occasion and to the people which for a while contributed freely to our support but they seem tired of it and the unpossibility of removing from here on account of the cloathing and equipment being in the hands of the worksmen and the unpossibility of getting waggons to transport it to another post makes me conscious of our great distress for the future.

6. by former conversations which your Exellency granted me on the affaires of the legion I juge you destine that corps to serve with the southern army and unless you give me contrary orders I shall march that way as soon as equiped—*the whole* of the *recruiting money* the *sixty remount horses received* & C^rl^ ternant Cap^t^ *le brun* & *bert* exchanged—I am assured that if those severals take soon place—when cap^t^ lebrun bearer of this shall return my cavallery will be compleat & I have goods reasons to believe that I shall soon compleat the infentry more southerly where I will send officers in front of the legion when we shall march.

7. the count de rochambeau wrote to me the 19^th^ n^bre^ last that he had received of admiral deGrass the list of the land officers taken by this last—in consequence of which he had wrote to M^r^ Clinton for the exange of the officers of the legion above mentioned & that he expected it would soon take place in consequence of this I have sent Cap^t^ lebrun to philadelphia, which if exchanged will bring me the money & horses, make many recruits and take up a number of Americans deserted last year and before—he bring with him some men newly cloathed in those purposes & which being born in Maryland where the gretiest part of our deserter are & which they know will no doubt be successfull—I beg leave to say here that Cap^t^ lebrun is very proper for those business & add to it the gretiest bravery activity and honor as well in the field as in any others circumstances of his life.

8. I have wrote to l^nt^ c^rl^ ternan who if exchanged will have to help him in furnishing the affairs of the legion & making recruits on his way to this post. Cap^t^ lebrun & M^r^ (Modmae) the first l^nt^ of the line of Maryland who desiring to be in the horse service has desired to be a cornet in the legion—your excellency has spoken to me in such favourable terms of c^rl^ de ternan & seem to be so well acquainted with his character and hability; that I shall not endeavour to rise your confidence in him & in what he may request & do from himself for the good of the legion otherwise than by giving my utmost conssent to his doings & by taking the liberty of expressing here my perfect esteem & friendship for that gentleman.

9. I have been told that the chevalier du portail & gouvion had been promoted which make out for each of them three commissions since in America—their true merit your satisfaction of their services & my friendship & regard for them forbid me to set forth their promotions & injurious to my rights—& I am happy if in this instance my silence on the just claim such promotions have a right to rise in me may be a new proof of the sincerity of the great attachment & respect with which I have the honor to be,

Your Exellency's, Sir, the most humble ob^dt^ st.

ARMAND.

[*Endorsed:* "Charlotteville 25 Jan. 1782. from Col. Armand. Answ^d^ 13. Feb^y^"]

No. 24. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Charlotteville 5 March 1782.

SIR,

I have been honored with your letter of the 13 febry—the exchanges of Col. ternant Capt^s^ leBrun & bert which have been effected trough your usual good-

ness for the legion are of real advantage to that corps —I lament sincerely that we are deprived of the benefit which we would reap from the talents of the first of those gentlemen if his exertions were sollely confined to his duty in the legion—but as soon your exellency call upon him for others purposes, I know too well that his and the public advantages are meant by it not to partake the satisfaction he must feel when he receive such distinguished marks of your esteem—hoever, permit me, Sir, to consider him belonging to the legion & the properest persone to command that corps if the circumstances I had the honor to mantion in writing to your Exellency while at York did force me to quit this service where indeed I have continued those two years, only through my unalterable respect and attachment to the Commandier in chief while I had all reasons to be disgusted by the weakness & kind of my command & injurious promotions of foreigners—When I had the honor to wrait you last, I expected, no full colonel of the horse should have joigned at the suthern & therefore had put off to the time where by their presence at the same army we should interfere with each other for the command which I should be unwilling to give up & that for reasons too obvious to your Exellency to need further mention. Since I wrote to you about that matter at York the promotions which have taken place this winter altogether with the circumstances above mentioned have intirely fixed my determination—& should your Exellency not be disposed to patronize my right, it would be indeed with the utmost concern that I should see that what I owe to my reputation & friends would render it necessary to me to quit a respectable army.

the condition we are in does not permit any parts of the legion to move at present without disordering the whole.

Reasons for remaining at this post or his neighborhood untill some time in the latter end of this month or the beginning of the next.

1. Sevm taillors employed by the state of Virginia are fixed at the barraks 6 miles from here and work continually for the making up of the Cloathing of the legion.

2. Nine taillors taken out of the legion are fixed and established at this place for the same purpose.

3. contracts are made here with a sadler for mainding the equipment & stoffing the new sadles of the legion—he is to be paid in leather which we may furnish to him at this post—nor the same man nor the leather are to be got immediately at an other post.

4. if any part of the legion was to move, waggons must be send along with it—for there is not such a thing as to be provided regularly on the road with provisions & forage.

5. far from having any waggons to spare, the distance of twenty & fiveteen mile which is the shortest we get the provisions & forage from is too great to permit us the regular supply of half allowance with the number of waggons we have.

6. One half of those waggons are hiered to the legion by the inhabitants while we are here but cannot follow us.

7. the condition of the horses & indeed the kind of many are too low & weak in general to form one troop out of the whole able to take the field without weakening & destroying the two others troops & in a few months the whole of the legion would be reduced to nothing—which will not be the case when the horses I expect from philadelphia will arrive here—by dividing & distributing them agreable to the condition of those all ready in the corps, I will render the company of an equal strength which with an equal distribution in their duty, will by no means reduce any particular troop nor the whole—but even in giving opportunity to not make a hard use of the poors & weaks horses will contribut much to bring them in a proper order for service.

the necessity of sending officers recruiting in front

of the legion while on his march to the suthern & those already recruiting could not permit to send a sufficient number with a troop that should set off by itself.

to those reasons I beg leave to add that under the present circumstances of the laws passed in the States & the reluctancy of the people to furnish continental troops unless contracts are made on proper stepts (which are not in my power) taken for their approvisionements, it would be with difficulty & in giving much disgust to the people & a bad name to the legion (which instance is the unavoidable consequence of the two formest) that I should proceed on—at all events it was impossible to me in making all dispatches to march before twenty days, at which time I may receive an answer from your Exellency which shall dictate my conduct in all respects.

I beg you will order & insist that the horses wanted and for which M^r robert morriss has a return & passed a contract should be send immediately or the money to purchase them—as soon their arrival & we have received the four waggons which Col^o ternant tels me are to come here from philadelphia—the legion will set off for the Suthern army & arrive there a respectable & useful body.

C^rl ternant who has mustered the legion will have the honor to transmit a return of it to your exellency.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Your Exellency's the most ob^dt h^ble St.,

ARMAND.

His Exellency G^rl Washington Commandier in Chiet of the American Army and *french* forces in North Carolina, *public service.* head quarter.

[*Endorsed:* "Charlotte, 5^th March 1782. from Co^l Armand. Ans^d 20^th"]

No. 25. To General Washington.

Charlotteville 7th april 1782.

Sir,

I have been honored with your answer to my last letter—by the formers théstimony of the patronage which your exellency granted to my military fortune & by the unchangeable resolution in which you are that to inter into the motives & stepts conducive to restore what promotions out of regular course have make me lost, I must be convinced of the unpropriety of my past and further application on the subject—& I assure your exellency that never I will take upon myself the liberty of troubling you with the same—if interference hapen for the command & no promotion take place in my favor when the arrangement of the army is made I shall go and resign my commission into your hand—happy if I could hold the same all my life's time under your immediat command when justice done to all would not have lessened its price and merite.

as this is probabily the last lettre in which I may take the liberty to express myself with sincerity—I beg leave to repeat my true sentiments of respect and admiration for your exellency—my thanks for the many favors received from you and the assurance that wherever and at whatsoever time I may be called upon my fortune time and life will be devoted to you.

the unpossibility of getting longuer forrage & provisions at this post without money render it necessary that the legion should change its quarter. I will move that corps to Stintown thirty five or fourty mile from here which raproach us of the road to the suthern army —there I will wait for your commands or the orders of general green—which will be executed the very same day as received.

Should the ministre of france have send me the money to purchasse the horses, I would have had them sheapper & better than those which the qt master will purchasse.

I have the honor to be with the gretiest respect, Your Excellency's, the most h^ble ob^t S^t

ARMAND M^Q^S DE LA ROUERIE.

His Exellency G^rl Washington, Commandier in Chief of the Americain forces and french army in America. headquarter

[Endorsed, "Charlotteville the 7^th Apr. 1782. from Col^o Armand. Answer to mine."]

No. 26. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Stauntown in Virginia
this 3^d June 1782.

SIR

the ministre at war wrait to me that M^r de Sigougné late of my legion had gone to you to inter with your exellency his complaint of an injustice done to him—I take the liberty to enclose here a coppy of my answer to the ministre at war which I hope will explain the fact.

I have not yet received any horses. I depend entirely on your exellency for all manner of justice which I have some rights to request—the cavallery having been compleated to five men and no desartion having taken place in that part of my corps, sixty horses are wanted.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, Your exellency's, the most humble obe^dt S.^t

ARMAND.

I enclose also a copy of the letter of M^r de Sigougné relative to his resignation.

[*Endorsed:* Virginia June 7. 1782, from Co^l Armand, papers respecting Cap^t Sigongné answ^d. 30 July.]

No. 27. To General Washington.

Stauntown Virginia this 3^{d} June 1782

Sir

I have been honored with your letters of the 3^{d} of May last, I expected that the letter of Cap^{t} Sigougné to me asking for his resignation would have been a sufficient proof of the rectitude of my proceedings.

I enlose an other copy of the same where you will see that he thanks me for the goodness with which I have treated him till the day he resigned his commission—if you please to look back upon all returns who have been given either to the commandier in chief or the board of war since the month of June or juillet 1778—time of the creation of my corps—you will constantly find, Cap^{t} *Markley* 1st cap^{t} commanding the first company—Cap^{t} Shaffner *Second,* Cap^{t} *commanding* the *second company,*—Cap^{t} Sigougné the third cap^{t} commanding the third company this with what follow will explain the fact.

At the time the mq^{uis} de lafayette was send to take the command at Albany of the troops that seemed to be destined to some expeditions towards Canada I was to raise a corps in that country—I obtained leave from general washington to take with me two officers out of the corps which I commanded in 1777—those officers who were granted to me were *Charle Markley* & George Shaffner both of them lieutenants, gentlemen of experience, bravery, honesty & activity—the first having been thirteen years in America & the second an Americain born—they could be very usefull to me being placed at the head of the captains of a new corps—at that very time & for that very expedition the mq^{uis} de lafayette obtained from Congress commissions of captains & others for some french gentlemen, but it appeared afterwards that the meaning of Congress was that those commissions should place their bearer in activity only in that army who was to march in Can-

ada & even only while it should remains there—those youngs Gentlemen who had obtained commissions without having ever made a campaign became rather troublesome after it was resolved that the division at Albany should not proceed further but was ordered to joign the grand army under his exellency's command.

the petitions of those Gentlemen to the mq[s] de lafayette induced this last to apply to me for placing them into the corps I was to raise—to tell the truth I was reither disappointed at such demand. I knew of what little service those gentlemen who were just arrived from france could not speak nor wrait a word of english would be to me & to the public—whoever as the thing was not altogether depending on me I took four, M[r] de *laumagne*, de *Sigougné*, de *frey* and one *voluntier*—those officers had commission of captains in the army at large. I took them under the condition that M[rs] Markley & Shaffner should command them & have the two first company—M[r] *de frey* quitted the corps few months after to go into pulaski's legion where he never could have a settled command—At the end of the campaign commissions were issued to my officers agreable to the time of their intrance into the corps & agreable to their appoint by me—during all that campain M[r] de Sigougné was commanded by Capt[s] Markley & Shaffner—he was allways put after them in all returns—his company constantly mustered after theirs during all the others campains & in all allusions he was placed in that order—when the commissions for my officers were made out there was a mistake done at the war office which at first sight serve even to explain the matter—the commission of M[r] de Sigougné in the corps was dated from the day his commission in the army at large was dated, but how could it be that a commission should be dated three four or five months before it was even thought that the corps should be raised—As soon as I saw that commission I wanted to send it back to the board of war to have it altered, and as

well as I may remember Cap^{t} Sigougné requested I would not do it, because the date of his commission would be of great service to him in france, but should not give him the command of the officers who were appointed before him in the corps—he ponctually kept his word and constantly during his services in the legion was under the command of Cap^{t} Markley & Cap^{t} Shaffner—while I was in france & Cap^{t} Shaffner following me there to help me in having the equipment of the legion made there—Cap^{t} Sigougné had as he thought an occasion respecting some officers of the army that compelled him to show his commission & take advantage of the date of it and agreable to it got a command—had I been there he would not have had it because I would have told allways, *how can Cap^{t} Sigougné be commissioned a captain in the legion before it was intended to raise that corps?*

from this instance M^{r} Sigougné took some presumption but not so far hoever as to establish it as a right —for he cannot denie that when Cap^{t} Markley retired on half pay, Sigougné told me, I request you would make me the offer of major in the legion & I will refuse it being glad such a deserving officer as Cap^{t} Shaffner should have it. I was far from taking such a measure which would have placed the officer who had the right under such an obligation to the officer who had no right at all—further I must say since I am forced to do it that M^{r} de Sigougné whatsoever brave & honest & expressing myself with the truth contained in the certificat I have given him of his services, had he been the first captain & of course the first to be promoted, I would have petitioned to have no major in the legion, because his little acquaintance with the english language—with the way of transacting business & his small means as a disciplinarian rendered him entirely unequal to the majority, which we must consider in fact as a post of great importance in all kinds of troops but more particularly in a partisant corps who by his station from the main army has no

other example of discipline but from and in itself—while his quality of brave and faithfull with submission —punctual to the orders he received could render him serviceable as a captain.

I am far from having any prejudice against him—he knows that I have done for him as much as I would have done for my brother—as well in America as in france, I have even prejudicied to my own affairs with the ministre in france by too repeated request for M^r^ de Sigougné—it has been a time where in this country I have exposed myself to be blamed & my reputation as a disciplinarian hurted by the unperfects parts which that gentleman had at his first intrance in the legion, I must repeat it, that I may not expose him & myself to worse than the fact is—those unperfections were, his *absolute unacquaintance* with a *syllable* of the *english language*, his *unacquaintance* with the command of men, his too great confidence in them, his too great facility to overlook their faults, his great difficulty to give up his national manners & to take those of this country—an essential part to those who are employed even in the smallest degree of business by congress —those are parts the want of which does not make a bad man, but indeed the officer who has not them cannot with propriety be called a very usefull one.

I must end by saying that I have done my might to persuade Sigougné to remains in the legion—we had served long together—*old acquaintances* dont like to part from each other, his bravery & some activity would have in some parts be very usefull. I have made use of his friends in the corps to persuad him, I have told him all what my friendship and the most unquestionable justice dictated to me, he gave his resignation—I keapt it in my pocket. I was more than six days before I put in to the orders that he had resigned & the next officer was to act in his room—he has forced himself—his letter to me and my certificat tells enough that we were upon as friendly terms as the differance of our ranks in the army

would admit & permit to us both to demonstrate in public.

I have the honor to be, your exellencys most h^ble and ob^dt st.

ARMAND M^Q^S DE LA ROUERIE.

No. 28. COPY *enclosed with foregoing*

" Copy & translation of a letter dated the 9^th^ March 1782 from Cap^t^ de Sigougné asking to resign his commission in the legion.

Charlotteville 9^th^ March 1782.

d^r^ Colonel

it being not possible to me to continue longuer my services, I request you would accept of my resignation.

from the goodness you have thestifyed to me untill this day, I do not doubt a moment but you shall with pleasure patronize the means that can help me in the settlement of my affairs with Congress—I dare hope that you will grant me a certificat of my services and one of my expenses which I have made for the public.

I have the honor to be with respect, My dear Colonel, Your very humble & very obedient servant,

(signed) DE SIGOUGNÉ.

I certify upon honor this to be a true translation of a letter which I have in my hands wrote to me by M^r^ de Sigougné a cap^t^ in my legion.

ARMAND, M^Q^S DE LA ROUERIE.

Staunton June 3, 1782.

No. 29. To General Washington.

Staunton Virginia this 22[d] July 1782.

Sir,

Since I have the honor to be under your command my most warm wishes were to acknowledge the kind & advantageous reception I met with from your Exellency at my arrival in the army, since that time the patronage you have been pleased to grant me has inforced the first sentiments of my heart towards you: I thought that by performing the duty of the line I am in & rendering myself usefull to the service I would answear the purpose untill greater occasions could in the course of my life be offered to my wishes—I had of course payed the greatest attention to the several parts that constitute our army—used from the earliest period of my intrance in the world to soldiery & military study, I could with ease perceive that whatsoever great your hability in our profession & your influence on the army, the people, & their representatives in Congress might be & were, it was not in your power to establish on the most regular footing all the several branches and *arms* of the army—I mean the infantery —artillery & cavallery-- the two formers were formed sooner & and in a short time you established them on a respectable footing—they were under your hands, you perceived and could correct their déffects—those two corps have often by their galant & orderly conduct in war acknowledged the hand who formed them.

but your Exellency had never the opportunity nor time of paying the same care to the cavallery raised far from you, allways in activity during the severals campaigns, far from you, much fatigued and broken down in winter quarter there could be no expectations that your Exellency could remedy at those time to the missfortune of that arm.

as soon as I had some cavallery I applyed myself with attention to know the necessary stepts to raise it

and to form it—this was the easiest to me from my having managed recruits and old soldiers during a long while before the war.

I wish particular attention, considered the propriety of the cavallery combined and considered in its rapports with the kind of the country where it was to make the war—& was so fortunate as to make use of the small body I had of it without having been surprised or meet with any missfortune of the kind.

two years ago I formed a plan for rendering our cavallery in the shortest time possible equal to what must be expected from it since it is composed of men and horses not to be found anywhere else for their advantages for that arm—but not having had at that time the experience that could justify to my own mind my ideas on the subject I did not go further than to examine closer the matter—having assured my ideas to the degree of persuasion & seeing our cavallery inactive at this time, & may be for awhile, I take the liberty to put under your consideration the inclosed paper—which whatsoever long it may appears, is but an extract of what is to be done.

Should your Exellency approve of the project and give me the care of the execution I would at the first notice give a plan more extended—but at all events I would not presume to present it to the ministre at war or any body else nor even mention of it, before your Exellency approving & patronizing it, would after having made what alterations you should be pleased to make give me orders in consequence.

I enclose two coppy that if you approve the plan you might send one immediately to the minister at war with your ideas on the subject, that he might give orders for the necessary provisions & forage—I beg your Exellency to be assured that my conduct with the others corps sent to the instruction would be nothing more but a meer military one and free from any reasons of disgust to them and their officers—when I promise that in three months our cavallery will

be instructed I am assured to effect my promise—but I say in my plan, *they will not be riding masters,* and for all they will be more usefull than riding masters—when it is done to the satisfaction of your Exellency I would not request the title of inspector of the horse or others to the purpose—the one I speak for is that of being more than any body devoted to your exellency.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, your Exellency's the most h^ble^ ob^t^ st,

ARMAND M^qs^ DE LA ROUERIE.

[*Endorsed,* Staunton, Virginia 22^d^ July 1782 from Col^o^ Armand inclosing plan for instruction of the cavalry. Answ^d^ 12 Aug^t^.]

[ENCLOSURE WITH FOREGOING LETTER.]

COL^O^ ARMAND'S CAVALRY SCHOOL.

Since the department of the war office in America is rendered to its true & entended establishment & that its purposes are expected to be truely effected; since the management of that office has been raised in to the hands of a true military man, of an officer who has commanded the army with honor & reputation; since every arms who compose the army is to take its true form & consistance, since the commandier in chief may at last (while attentive to the government of his army in the field & to the projects & enterprises of the enemy) rest with confidence on the persone that perform the ministry at war, it becomes the duty of every officer to contribute to the succéss of the arm he belongs to and acknowledge by his exertions and the performance of his duty the great obligations which every individual in the army is under to the commandier in chief.

without doubt every one who had opportunitys of seeing our cavallery is acquainted with its inconsistance since it is raised and the very little services to be

expected from it as a body of cavallery and even as regiments.

orders have been given to raise regiments—*men have been inlisted*—horses have been bought, an immense proportion of cloathing, equipement and arms have been delivered to them, but no regiments have ever been formed and much less a solid & usefull body of cavallery—the commandier in chief had never in his power to prevent that *evil*—regiments of horses were raised far distant from him, as soon as they were in some order to march they were called into an active service and there was so little attention payed to keap allways compleated the few horses we had that what remained under arm at the end of the campaign could hardly furnish the small post of communication wanted to each department of the army, the remainder who was a small proportion was sent in to winter quarter and perhaps made some recruits which as well as the rest did remains recruits during the time they were inlisted for.

we have never seen any of our squadrons *make* or *receive* a charge regularly—we have seen them in the field on many occasions which were favorable to them not attack and even retire with some disgrace from the field—not because they wanted bravery,—God forbid me to say ever such a thing so much contrary to the experience I have of the Americains courage, but meerly because they did not know how to march of their grounds towards the ennemy in presence of them, nor when arrived there how to form themselves and take their advantage in the attack & indeed they did well, for confusion would have taken place, & it is a matter of fact that those who cannot form a regular attack have much less in their power to make an advantageous and even an orderly retreat.

we are at a time of rest and never the cavallery had such opportunity of being instructed and formed—nor Congress to give that arm a true and solid constitution —not only the little occasion we have now for the cav-

allery in the field permit us to have it gethered in some proportion, but this time of the year when the crop is ready to be made is one of the most favorable instances to any project that could be made on that head.—

a place of *Rendesvous* should be appointed in some parts of the country where there is the most plainty of forrage and at a cheap price—that place of *Rendesvous* should be agreeable & consistent to the commandier in chief & with his views, that in case of emergancy or in any other he could have his cavallery, a proportion of it or even the whole in the shortest time possible to every army or detatchment of the army where they should be wanted—the *rendésvous* chusen, one full company agréable to the number of their establishment should be made out of all the companys of each regiments, and sent there under one cap^{t} and two subalterns, the other company of each regiment would, part of them continue on duty if necessary & a small proportion should be sent recruiting—hoever as to recruits it would be much préferable that the several states should furnish them intirely out of their states & of the age & size requested & that congress would take stepts to that purpose recommanding that those recruits should be made not as substitutes or others are raised not out of the last class of the people, but men of property such as goods farmers—in one word men who can never desert & whose property is an interest to them in addition to the diffence of the liberty of their country—all these men should be inlisted for during the war.

the regiments that could furnish more than one company compleated in numbers of men and officers would send them—the regiments who are not with the army should be ordered wholly to the place of *rendésvous* —none should be sent there but troops intirely *compleated, equipped* & *mounted.*

one colonel of the horse should be appointed to the command and manégément of the whole & as he *would superintend the instruction, it is necessary that*

he should be well instructed himself—others field officers as l[t] Colonels & Majors could be appointed under him, but at all events no more but one by each detachment of a regiment, no others fields officers besides those should be permitted to make himself busy in the instruction.

the instruction would begin by parts, & largers troops should not be permitted to exercise together untill the smalls parts should be perfectly instructed.

instruction would be more particularly given to the non-commissioned officers, for it is on them & more so than on the officers, that the perfection & solidity of troops do depend.

every days at fixed times the officers should have particulars instruction.

when the parts should be well instructed largers ones would be exercised together & so on untill regiments and brigades.

it is understood that the horses & men wanting to be longed would be put to that exercise untill fitt to come into the rank.

it is at that school, when the troops, men & horses should be instructed (which with the kind of men & horses we have in this country & much activity in the officers would be done in a short time) that the cavallery would learn how to conduct in the field—how to make the *war* of partys which the nature of this country render often necessary & how to act in largers bodys a day of general action or when the opportunity offert otherwise.

there the troops would learn to take the advantage of the ground—to arrive on it quick or slow agréable to the occasion but allways in solide order and forming themselves by easy but regular & quick ways.

there they should be learned how to make an advanced guard—its duty—the duty of an arrier guard and of flanking partys.

there they should learn how when surprised on the march to form themselves to the best the country and

distance from the enemy should permit—but free from confusion.

there they should learn how to incamp when secured from the ennemy by the distance & how to encamp when near of the enemy.

there they would be teach the care they must have of their horses equipments & arms—in a word there would be formed a body of cavallery much superior to the cavallery of the ennemy, for no men have by nature the means given to the americains.

should the care of the instruction be given to me I would answer that in three months what troops I would have had under my care should be well disciplined and instructed. I would by no means take the measures that were to be taken in 1777, by Colo. de la Balme then inspector of the horse, they were tiresome & disgusting for the officers & dragoons, *they did not suit the time.* I would not make *riding masters* of them, but men who would be fast on their horses, conducting them in an easy manner, having intirely their right arm free, and where they would have them to go—& I must repeat by the experience I have of the men & horses of this country all may be done in three months even with the whole of the cavallery.

As this should be intirely and altogether a camp of instruction not for the show but for the war, I would have all the équipages, baggages, waggons, of the officers & troops settled as to the number and the kind and agreable to the absolute conveniency but nothing more and have the whole of them present.

there, steps should be taken for to rule the cloathing, arms & accoutrements that the cavallery are to have—many articles should be reduced as unnecessary & expensif—the cloathing given to the men would be fixed & in no occasions whatever no more nor less could be issued to them.

the remount of the horses would be fixed at such a price and such a number for every years by regiments —that number could be twenty five or thirty for each

regiment—the colonel receiving regularly the money for them would have the charge to keep his corps compleated at his own benefit or loss as things should happen, exept in case the General in chief in an action should see the necessity of sacrificing one troop or more of horse for the saffety of the army, then the loss on such an occasion should be to the public.

should the states not furnish the men, the money necessary to recruit fourty men by Regiment should be given regularly every years to the colonel who would be answerable to have his corps (once fully compleated) allways compleat, to his benefit or loss, sums out of his pay to be retained for every deficiency—

it should be ordered that an officer of whatsoever rank who in the course of three month should not be acquainted with & perform well the duty of his station should be rapported to the minister at war and immediately dismissed from the service.

subalterns officers could be taken from the infantery in to the cavallery but never a cap^{t} or of a higher rank.—

to render the cavallery a body more solid and of more importance the parts of which should have a similar and regular motion & conduct he should be formed as follows.—

one *grand division* composed of two brigade & each brigade of two regiments & one legion.

the regiments and legions being compleated there should never be any occasion for more than one brigade of horse to the Grand Army and another to the southern army—the legions would make the duty of lights troops on the lines, & therefore a proportion of infantery should be joigned to them at the intrance of avery campaign—but never to a regiment of cavallery whose duty is to remain in camp, act in a day of action or on expedition (when the General think proper to send them) then he may add to them what infantry he juge necessary but occasionally; for nothing destroy or weaken more an army & put more con-

fusion on their lines than those severale corps of horses each one having smalls body of foots—All of them without connection with each other—all of them having a particular way of doing their duty, of ruling their corps, of acting with the people, never forming a body to the immediat command of the general in chief, I mean ready to act together at the first order from him, & allways weakening themselves to no purposes by the losses which are inséparable in troops who are constantly on the line.—

should the army of the ennemy increase & act on the *offensive*, I would add some company of foots to those legions and have a company of each regiment of horse joigned to them the rest of the cavallery remaining in active in the rear of the advanced post, but ready to joign & act in occasions of emergency and force.—

the commandier in chief having appointed a place of *rendesvous* for the instruction all recruits should be send there with officers in proportion to their number, but under the direction of one field officer of the horse (not commanding a regiment) who should remains constantly to the scool of cavallery, never any recruit should be permitted to remains longer than three months there—the receiving a certificat of instruction from the instructive officer he would be sent to joign his corps.

ARMAND M^os^ DE LA ROUERIE.

No. 30. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Staunton, Sep^t^ 10, 1782.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your letters of the 30^th^ july & 12^th^ August last—As your Exellency observe in the former one it does not appears consistent with the present state of public finances to purchase

horses for the complement of the legion—this expectation which I conceived of getting them I must lay by untill better times—but what give me the most pain is the disappointment of the soldiers concerning their pay—I have taken notice that the best, the easiest of them to govern and who may be of the most advantage to the country amongs those I command are the most affected by the perpetual denial of their wages—they cannot conceive that times will ever alter their situation for the better—they love and respect at the utmost the commandier in chief, they are submissive to their officers, but have not the least confidence in the government—they cannot bear the idea that all officers and others in the civil line are paid exactly *because* they *have the means in their hands* while the military who is the support of the whole have their share only in the *troublesome* and *painful occasions* which have taken & do dayly take place in this contest.

I have considered it a point in my duty to mantion this to your Exellency not with a view to make any efforts towards obtaining any pay for the legion while the main body of your army has non, but to give you before hand reasons to excuse me in case some irregularity take place.

in the month of April last I took upon me to make an advance of six dollars to every private and eight to the non-commissioned officers who were in the legions before the first of January—this I was forced to do in order to inspire them with the confidence I had myself in the new administration of finances who had promised to pay the army every two months—now I make an advance of three dollars to every private and four to every non-commissioned officer—this last advance is my *Ne plus ultra*—but I owe to my own honor to make all efforts in keaping the men upon the footing of discipline their good nature has contributed with my care to establish in the legion—it will depend upon your Exellency to place that corps in a light to do me honor when the occasion will offer—happy I

shall be if he may answear the expectations you had when you ordered him to be raised.

the ministre at war has ordered the legion to winshester where I shall march as soon as the horses are shod—At the same time I have wrote to General green that he might know where to send orders in case of necessity.

I am with the greatest respect, your exellency's most humble & ob^{dt} st.

ARMAND.

[*Endorsed*—Staunton, 10th Sept^{r}, 1782, from Colonel Armand, gives up the expectation of horses—distressed for want of pay—advanced from his own purse to the legion—marches to Winchester. Answ^{d} 30 Octo.]

No. 31. To GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Winshester December 1st 1782.

SIR,

I am this instant honored with your lettre of the 30th octo last—when I joigned the remainder of count pulaski legion at wilmington in north carolina there was in the whole twenty two men commanded by Capt. le brun, lieutenant verdier & cornet desconture—I find no others nor did ever any others come afterwards—your exellency is sensible that the number of 22 men which did not make out one troop did not require more than the three officers above mantioned which is the only number allowed to a full company—had Cap^{t} Second been there at the time, I do not know what I could have done further than to give the preference to the seignoirity of commission betwixt him and Cap^{t} le brun or to have them to draw ballots if they had agreed—for the captains of my own corps having each of them their company it could not be expected that congress and your Exellency having ordered the in-

corporation as a favour done to me & the officers of my corps of which you was pleased to approve the conduct & services—would take their men from them to give them to others—but it was not the case, no such idea or arrangement where ever debated & my instructions were to take officers of pulaski in proportion of their men.

I heard nothing of Cap^{t} Second who by what I have been told is an officer brave and intelligent—he is wrong to think that he would be the oldest—Cap^{t} Markley who has since resigned—Cap^{t} Shaffner who is major—cap^{t} Sigougne who has resigned & Capt. bedhen were all older than himself, of course if the idea & experience I had of those gentlemen merite made me desirous of seeing one of them and every one of them after the other promoted. Cap^{t} Second by comming in to the corps could not bring any impediment to my wishes—after I returned from france I received a letter from Cap^{t} Second to the following purpose—to tell him if he was an officer or not in the legion under my command—I saw him at Yorck and told him that I had allready received an over proportion of officers for the proportion of men—that the arrangement had been made so long since that the number of officers were full at present & that the legion having been formed intirely by new orders and on a new footing and did not conceive that he had under those circumstances any claim to inter into that corps —then he resumed a new plan of raising one or two independant company of horse & made me confident of his project—he appeared so certain of his succés that I told him he should be welcome to joign & act with the legion with his troops—since every officers have endeavoured to raise their troops they have been so succesfull that we are above 300—those officers have suffered as the rest of the army by a continual activity without pay—on the other hand I have been told (which whoever I do not ascertain to be a fact) that cap^{t} Second had settled his affairs with congress

—received a sum of money as a reward to his services and resigned his commission—then he went to france —what company can he take the command of in the legion—without doubt of a *seventh* one if you order it to be raised & still if cap^{t} Second had once quited the service it would be wrong the first lieutenant.

I am sorry to not receive any orders relative to our winter quarter—we are still incamped and suffer much from the cold and badness of the weather as well as from the want of forage—

permit me to give your Exellency my respectful thanks for the assurance of your esteem, which is the thing in the world I am the most anxious to preserve.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Your Exellency, Sir, the most h^{ble} ob^{dt} St.

ARMAND.

His Exellency G^{l} Washington Commandier in Chief of all regular forces in North America. Head quarter.

[*Endorsed:* Winchester 1 Dec. 82. from Col^{o} Armand.]

No. 32. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia Jan^{y} 17, 1782.

SIR,

At my arrival here which was the 13th present I find by a letter from major wahen one of your aids to the d. p. secretary at war that M^{r} Second still continue in the idea that he has a right to take his rank in to the legion—& I take the liberty once more to represent the matter to your Exellency—and as I had the honor to wrait to you before that no personal reasons promoted my wishes against that officer being arranged in to the legion I have all hopes that no private views & interest will appears to be the motives of my conduct.

I had been told and indeed the noise had so far spread that it created jealousy amongs officers under the same circumstances than Cap[t] Second that he had resigned and received a considerable sum of money as a reward for his services—this has not been proved to be the fact, & after inquiring into the matter I find that he received only a part of his pay—but what soever sufficient was the reason of his having resigned to keap him without any other out of the service at large—as in my letter to you I mentioned it only as a *hear say*, it was not the one which in my mind, could have the more weight against his pretentions—& I think the following which are nothing ellse but a repetition & explanation of what I wrote before on the subject will explain the matter so as not to leave the least doubt on the nature of his claim.—

when I had order to march to the suthern in 1780, agreable to your recommendations congress passed a resolve incorporating the remains of count pulaski's legion with mine—(your Exellency will be pleased to take notice of the words *remains* which will afterwards serve to convince that the officers of that corps could not all have title to be incorporated) for there was only the remains of a corps incorporated in a corps near compleat agreable to his establishment.—

I marched from here four company—two of horses & two of foots amounting to near 200 men—all officered by officers who at least three of them—Cap[ts] *Markley*, *Shaffner*, & *Sharp* had made two campeigns before either of ours Legions were intended to be rised—the other had in the same year 1778 intered the field in the beginning of the campaign.

At my arrival at Wilmington in north Carolina I find 26 or 27 men—Cap[t] *lebrun*, l[nt] *verdier* & cornet des *conture*—your exellency will be yet pleased to take notice that the number of those men not exceeding the half of one company, having no horses, no arms nor cloathing. I would not have been blamable had I taken *two* of those officers instead of *three*—

the ancienty of capt lebrun as a captain was a disadvantage to capt *debert* an excellent officer of my corps & to all the officers after him—hoever I endeavoured to persuad him & the others to remains in the service and then find it my duty towards the confidence your exellency honored me with and the memory of my brave friend count pulaski to take those officers.—

you will perceive that by that very weak reinforcement to my numbre in the legion I could not draw any material advantage while it created a material jealousy—and that my not requesting your exellency to recall the orders for incorporating the *remains* of pulaski sprung intirely from sentimentals motives. I had no addition to receive any more, not a single private or non-commissioned officer from that corps joigned the legion since (exept 15 men under capt bedkens who joigned the insuing year should be considered as such) we made the campeign to the Suthern and the conduct and bravery of Capt *lebrun* & the two subaltern with him put my mind at ease in inspiring the others officers with regard and friendship towards them—at my return from the Suthern your exellency was pleased to increase my command, but it was not in your power on account of the desorder in our finances to increase it at short time in any other way than *nominally.*

you were pleased to joign capt bedhens with about 15 men he then had to the legion—that officer was older in commission than a great part of my captains—& his comming with us was near causing the resignation of all who were younger than himself—but then I made use of a new mode to prevent it. I told them that a little before that time Congress having reformed all independants corps our of course had been reformed—& that they were happy that you permitted them to remains in the new corps which you ordered me to rise—this permission I conceived from the lettre in which you give me orders to appoint officers—from that time when I had not above six men of the legion of pulaski left in mine, I could not immagine that a con-

tinuance of incorporation of his officers would take place—I did not look upon my corps as the corps I had before, & I considered the incorporation which had taken place merely as an instance by which Congress and the Commandier in Chief had disincumber their hands of a small party who having no name nor existence was troublesome by itself—but at all events I had four officers from that corps—Cap^{t} *bedhens*, Cap^{t} *lebrun*, l^{nt} *Verdier* & cornet *des conture*, & had not received more than 27 men with the last & 15 with the first—

I wint to france—I came back & then but never before then I received a lettre from Cap^{t} Second, asking me if he should consider himself or not as belonging to the legion then under my command. I was surprised and did pospone giving an answer till at York where upon his asking me the same question, I told him that there was no vacancy—and that whenever their should be a vacancy I had received allready an over proportion of officers from his corps who had actually served in mine—that *it was no more the same corps* but intirely a new one.

then he resumed that having expectations to obtain the separate command of two company of horse he would give his attention to that matter—at which I answered that my objections against his entering into the legion were so far from proceeding from a want of confidence in his merite that when he had rised those two company I should be happy to have him attached to my command when in the field.

why then, did he not apply to your Exellency we were near at hand—he knew that the powers you have as Commandier in chief were then the very same—he knew that owing to your Exellency my command in this country the wishes of my heart were constantly attentive to please you—but why did he not proceed in that manner, his present conduct shows it enough —every one must believe that he made his short & unsuported application, in order to say afterwards that

having lost his activity in the army by the destruction & reduction of pulaski's corps, and not being possible to come in mine, he had a right to some others made for placing him—he himself explain perfectly well that mode and his intent—when he endeavoured to obtain the independant command of two company, he want not to be placed as he was but to be promoted in every respects—at least those appears to be his principle.

why when he find that he could not with any kind of propriety or right come into the legion did he not make application to serve in others corps—why did he went to france without repeating his wishes & pretentions—without mentioning what he calls his rights at a time when all officers without command were reduced—*for there is such resolution passed last year out of which he has not taken care to place himself*—he went to france because it was convenient for himself—he return most surely because it is convenient to himself and his friends at home—he now wishes to come in the legion by the same principle—and *still he is prisoner of war*—why if he thought himself to be an officer, or having the right to be one in the legion did he not make any application to me for his exchange—he most have known by the exchange of the others officers that it was in my power to have him exchanged with the permission of your Exellency—his frequents visits & addresses to the general officers in the french army must have teached him that the count *rochambeau* was anxious to exchange officers who had commands in your army—that he would do it through the officer who had commanded them—and in the meantime he must have conceived & perceived that the count would not take much trouble to exchange those who were not in activity—those are matters which any man accostumed to the world will make clair & plain into his mind.

but thus he has not conducted himself and it is at present when all the officers even the youngest cor-

net, have continued to rise the legion to 334 men that he want to disrange them.

if this request of cap[t] second may be looked upon by your Exellency as justly deserving to be granted I must be convinced that it is so, & in that case I must submit to the loss of all my best officers younger than himself.

I have no favorite amongs them—those in which their conduct has given me confidence are my friends. I know that I cannot keap the legion on the footing it is in respect to her numbers & order if those officers retired with disgust—I think not to go too far in saying that I without them or them without me will make a material injury to the corps—should your exellency think proper to have the matter decided by a court martial I beg the favor that this letter be put before that court as the justification and motive of my proceedings.

I have brought with me the continuation of my plan for the cavallery with some maneuvres draughted as well as I could—but which I think sufficient to explain them—I do believe that your exellency could find among the whole some parts which would perhaps at this period be usefull—if you would permit me I should go to the headquarter when you think that you could spear few hours on the subject— I would not wish that the plan & maneuvres should go trough the hands of those who seperintend that part in our army—unless your exellency should order it otherwise.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect your exellency's, Sir, the most ob[dt] h[bl] St.

ARMAND.

[*Endorsed:* Philadelphia Jan[y] 17, 1783, from Col[o] Armand. Cap. Segond.]

No. 33. To General Washington.

Philadelphia April 10th 1783.

Sir,

At this period in the affairs of America it could have been expected that my warmest wishes would be to return to france & enjoy there the fruits of my conduct here and a family happiness—but motive of attachment to your exellency, to the form of a republican government & to the great quality of this people as soldiers create in me wishes stranger than those which I may gratify at home.

I am informed that Congress have requested your opinion on the establishment of the army which they may determine to keap at the peace and that a regiment of horse is to be comprehended in it—should it be the case I take the liberty to offer to them through the patronage of your Exellency a continuation of my services—by several conversations which I had on the subject with lnt Crl ternant I may juge that his wishes are the same with mine as well as those of all most all the best officers of the legion—that corps is more compleat than any other—the two third of the men were inlisted last year for the term of three years & I could easily persuad the other third or the greatest part of it to reenlist.

I beg leave to request your Excellency would not communicate my wishes to others who may determine on them—as in case they should not be gratified, the ministers in france could not have an occasion to reproach me with having desired to withdraw myself from that service.

I am with the highest respect, Sir, your Exellency's the most obt hble St.

Armand Mqs de la Rouerie.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From General Armand. 10th Apl 1783.]

No. 34. To General Washington.

philadelphia may 20th 1783.

Sir,

I am very sorry to find that my promotion is likely to prove injurious to lnt Crl ternant—and it is with a view & wish to see every justice done to that officer that I now address your Exellency.

I think it useless to state here the case as his lettre on that subject will I trust prove satisfactory—we both expected that my retaining the immediat command of the legion (which I would never have given up for a promotion nor would quit at this time) would not hender either the promotion of lnt Crl rernant or his enjoying the amolument of a lnt Col. commandant & that congress would readily remove without a formal application whatever disadvantageous implication might appears to be contained in their resolution of the 26 of March—but the negative opinion recently given by the hble the Secretary at war on that subject—and the apprehension of a sudden dessolution of the legion obliged him to loge immediately his petition with the Secretary at war in order to obviate every inconveniency untill he should be able to procure your opinion & support in the affair—I readily joign with lnt col. de ternant in beseeching your Exellency to patronize him in this case as you have so generously done before.

his being placed in the situation of a lnt Crl Commandant & obtaining a satisfactory explanation of the resolution of the 26th of march would I find fully satisfy him—I could wish for my own part that the commission of colo. might be given to him more especially as it was lately granted to lnt Col. Cambray of the Engineers a younger officer in service than lnt Col. ternant & who was not employed since may 1780.

upon a review of the service performed by lnt Colo de ternant under your immediate command and at

several periods with the southern army, I am in hopes your Exellency will judge him equally worthy of the compliment—I have advised him to forward to head-quarter the testimony he has of his services with the southern army in order to obtain from your Exellency a proper certificat which I know from my own experience to be more advantageous in europe than any commission or official provision from congress—I hope your Exellency will excuse if l^nt^ Co^l^ de ternant do not go to head quarter in person as his little state of health could not permit him at present to undertake the journey.

I wished more than anything to go myself and pay my respects to your Exellency but I am waiting here for what change may take place every day in respect to the legion, in order to have justice done to the officers and more particularly to the settlement of the affairs of those who intend to return to europe—

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, your Exellency, the most ob^dt^ h^be^ S^t^,

ARMAND.

his Exellency General Washington &^c^ &^c^ &^c^ head-quarter.

[*Endorsed:* Philadelphia 20 May 1783 from Brig. Gen^l^ Armand. Lieu^t^ Co^l^ Ternant. Answ^d^ 28.]

No. 35. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Princeton Sep^t^ 30^th^ 1783.

SIR,

I take the liberty to inclose here a copy of a petition of some of the officers of the army to Congress and request the permission to make some remarks on the difference betwixt my proposal and their demand—

they do not mention positively that any of them shall go and settle on the lands granted by Congress, nor do they intimate that a body, or several body of them

wishes to go and settle in company on those land—as they do not present Congress with a plan of the measures which are necessary to the general settlement and which in case of that g^{rl} settlement they would be induced to mention not only as leading but as necessary to their succés, it is to présume that they mean nothing more, but to have their right to those lands ascertained & their share marked out, that they may have the benefit of them either by settling them individually or selling them—

if I am not wrong to view the matter in that light there is a sensible difference through the mode I propose for a settlement, in the advantages which the public and the settlers will reap from it & that to be expected from the demand of the army—

partial settlements of individuals will no doubt be beneficial to the country and more particularly when those individuals are like the officers of the Americain army, men of honor in all points, but at the same time more they shall deviate from a general interest & co-operation in their measures & less celerity & consequence will attend the succés of the settlement in general—

your Exellency is persuaded that those who shall the soonest promote their & the public interest in that undertaking, will be those who paying their whole attention and support to it will neglect all their objects not immediately connected with it—I believe that few of that mind are to be found, but at the same time I dare assure that a great part of the legion will submit to the necessity & propriety of the resolution—

I request some common advantages which I believe are calculated to insure our succés—at least as far as to unite the interest of all those who shall come with me & to incourage & support them through the hardships which at first are the inevitable consequence of such an undertaking—

however ; your Exellency is born with much more talents & has had much more experience than myself

in the several ways which lead to the knowledge of mankind and of military men & it is with the greatest consequence that I request you would alter my plan and proposals agreable to your own ideas and I am so far assured that they will be calculated to promote the public interest & our own, that I declare here I shall agreable to them undertake the executing of the plan —& I have no doubt that the regulations which Congress will prescribe to govern us by, which they will answer the purposes of that ho^ble^ body will at the same time be favorable and conducive to our happiness.

if there was any objection arising from the possession of those land not being at present perfectly given to Congress—the question would be thus—the new settlers would be under the state of virginia if the lands were to remain in her possession—or under Congress if the possession of the land was their—but at all events a speedy decision would procure more men now and more officers would follow and spend to that object what money they may have—those advantages will be reduced in a great proportion by a delay.

I request your Exellency would introduce & support the project in Congress.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect your Exellency's Sir, the most ob^dt^ hb^l^ St.

ARMAND MQS DE LA ROUERIE.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From Gen^l^ Armand, Mq^s^ de la Rouerie, 30^th^ Sept. 1783.]

ENCLOSURE *referred to in the preceding letter.*

1. Armand request the h^ble^ congress would give to the legion under his command the *lands* on the other side of *Ohio*, in the proportion which has been promissed to the army in general.

2. that he would be permitted to buy from the public a *proportion of lands* on a proportion of his half pay.

3. that a proportion of land be granted now and at

others times for every person not having been in the army which he may bring there.

4. that he receive now a power to go mark out those lands and take possession of them.

5. that at the same time the legion be ordered to march in the settled parts of the country as near as possible of the land where they are to settle.

6. that from the time they shall be able to go on those land a year rations be allowed to them.

7. that the pay of the men whose time of service is not at an end be continued as follow—a fourth or fifth part in cash & the remainder in land—till their time of service is expired.

that tools out of the public magazin be granted to them to intrench & work their land.

those men will be able at any time to establish & guard magazins & secure that part of the country.

armand request the land could be granted as near as possible of the river Mississippi.

Princeton, Sept. 30, 1783.

No. 36. To General Washington.

Philadelphia Sunday night.

Sir,

I had requested your Exellency to wrait to the ministre at war because I was assured it would be much favorable to me through the honor which a lettre from you would confer on him—from my observations during my last journey to france, I am certain it would have been the case—but your Exellency knows best and whatsowever may be my interest, what general washington does, is in my eyes the best that was to be done.

I inclose a certificat with which you honored me—my valet de chambre with my papers and baggages having been taken at the battle of *Camden*, I have lost

all my others certificats but your which I had left in philadelphia.

I had one from lord sterling for my conduct at the battle of shorthill in the jersey—where out of 80 men 32 were killed & taken in the action & after the corps was ordered to deffend a peace of *canon* which happily though making the rear guard in the retreat I saved from the ennemy—thus as I may remimber were the expressions of lord sterling—the loss of men and the deffence of the peace of canon are the fact.

the next action were I was, was at the head of *elk*, where I made again the rear guard in the retreat—few days before that I had had several scarmichs with the enemy.

the next battle were I was was that of *brandiwin*—I think the corps scarmished with the ennemy in the morning and agreable to orders deffended as long as my small number permitted the passage of the river—then I protected the battery on the right—untill overpowered by the ennemy who attacked there—

the next action was at white mash—where the ennemy made a tryal on our left—I begone the action with few horsemen and count pulaski comming on took the command—

my next was in the Jersey when under the marquis la fayette the rear of Cornwallis army was beaten by our militia & few riflemen—I was there the next officer in command to the marquis, I had a letter from him on that occasion but it was taken with the rest, and although that circumstance was to me the most favorable of this war, I have drawn no advanage of it—as the marquis promissed me to give an account of it to your Exellency which afterwards it was thought he had not done.

after coming from Albany I made the campaign 1778 and 1779 in the grand army and under the eyes of your Exellency.

in the beginning of 1780 I was sent to the Suthward —the legion had several successfull scarmishes there—

then came the battle of camden where the legion was the first troop & successfully engaged in the night—but so much reduced afterwards that I was obliged to come to philadelphia and take measures to form a new corps—your Exellency is acquainted with the particulars of my conduct since that time—

I do not mention here the severals smalls occasions which I had before the ennemy—and I assure your Exellency that anything that may seem proper to you to do for me will be the most pleasing to me as I am persuaded your Exellency will do me justice.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, your Exellency's most ob^{dt} h^{bl} S^{t}

ARMAND M^{qs} DE LA ROUERIE.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From Gen^{l} Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, Oct^{r} 1783.]

No. 37. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia N^{bre} 29th 1783.

SIR,

Agreable to your commands of the 3^{d} present, delivered to me the 8th of the same month, I prepared to disband the legion—Cap^{t} le bert paymaster who, since he had the honor to see your Exellency at princeton, had been continually busy with the commissioners of accounts to settle & close the final accounts of the noncommissioned officers and privates went off the 11th when those accounts were ready, to west point in order to receive certificats for the troops from the paymaster general—the next day I set off for the legion and made there the necessary preparations to disband that corps regularly and with as much conveniency to individuals as circumstances permitted—the 21st Cap^{t} de bert arrived at Yorktown—he delivered to the men the cloathing which was due to them and was

in our store, he settled with them for their pay—delivered their certificats and the 25th early in the morning, the legion to the number of 340 paraded when I announced to them that by order of your Exellency the officers, non commissioned officers and privates were disbanded and no more subject to the articles of war—then their discharge were given to them.

it is impossible to me to express the scene of affection which immediately took place, the officers and soldiers shed tears, came around me, all expressed their sorrow to part from each other, the men who had formerly been punished, asking at that moment they were free, their officers to forgive them their faults, and the whole promising to joign me again if ever our services were wanted in this country.

few days before I had the pleasure to receive from the inhabitants of yorktown the address which I take the liberty to enclose here.

it gives me much pain not to have been able to disband the legion the 15th as you had ordered, because your Exellency not having perhaps a perfect knowledge of me might suppose that the war being at an end & myself near to quit the country, I give less importance to my punctuality in obeying your commands —if such were your thoughts permit me to request here your Exellency to make in them that alteration which my heart full of respect & attachment for you do really deserve—though perhaps I may never be so happy as to bear again a commission under your command, I am too sensible of your superiority over men in general and your past kindness to me act with too much force on my feelings for me not to be submitted to you all my days & in all occasions whatever—I regret to have not fought & to not fight for a cause more personal to his Exellency, general washington — happi indeed would I be at the instant where sheding all my blood, my soul leaving this world would glorify with the honor of having served my heroe—but I am not so fortunate & allready to far in my career to

change my profession. I am perhaps doomed to serve a man out of my choice, however I will have the encouragement in my future life, that by a propriety in my conduct I am assured to deserve and obtain your esteem.

when your Exellency come to philadelphia I will have the honor to request certificats for some of the officers of the legion who have served with credit and may draw a great advantage from their good conduct when attested by your Excellency.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Sir, Your Exellencys the most ob^{dt} h^{ble} St.

ARMAND M$^{Q^s}$ DE LA ROUERIE.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From Gen^{l} Armand, 29th Nov^{r}, 1783.]

ENCLOSURE *in Foregoing Letter.*

Yorktown Pennsilvania
(Copy) 12th November, 1783.

To Brigadier General Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie &^{c}

Hearing that your Legion is about to be disbanded, and that you will soon return again to your native Country:

We the Subscribers inhabitants of Yorktown in Pennsilvania; Beg leave to Express to you the *high sense* we Entertain of the Strict Discipline, Good Conduct & Deportment of the officers & soldiers of your Corps whilst stationed amongst us for ten months past.

We return you our hearty thanks as well for your Services rendered America in the Field, as for the attention you have paid to the property & civil Rights of the people.—

Be pleased to communicate our Sentiments to Major

Shaffner & all your worthy officers and soldiers & assure them we shall ever hold them in the Greatest Esteem.

We pray that you may have an agreeable Passage across the Ocean & that you may receive from your Illustrious Sovereign the Just Reward of your many Meritorious Actions performed in support of Liberty & the honour of the allied Arms & are with Great Regard.

Your most obedient humble servants—

(*Signed by the following Gentlemen.*)

H. Alexander
Godfrey Leuhart
James Edie
Daniel Candler
Conrad Laule
Jn M^c^Pherson
W^m^ Bailey Sherff
Edward Crawford
Mich. Wahn
Andrew Billmeyer
Ge^o^ Lewis Lester
Rob^t^ Dunn
Joseph Rothak
John Johnson
Zach^s^ Shenpornt
George Stake
Hy. Miller
David Greer
Th^s^ Hartley
Arch^d^ M^c^Clean
David Jameson
Balzer Spangler
Mich^l^ Everly
Frederick Yome
Edward Langworthy
John Ehnman
Jacob Haye
Martin Hreber
Michael Graybel
George Gibson, Co^l^ late commanding the 1^st^ State Reg^t^ Virg^a^

No. 38. To General Washington.

Philadelphia Xb^re^ 11^th^ 1783

Sir,

Although I intend to remain some months in America in order to obtain from Congress some advantage & justice for the officers of the legion in their final set-

tlement of accounts, it is of the greatest importance to the succés of my future military life to receive at this time from your Exellency a recommendation to the Court of france for my services & conduct in America —from the letters I have received lately & the opinion which the Chevalier de la luzerne has on that head, it is probable that I shall be made a brigadier general in france before or immediately after my return there—the weight of your recommendation will have this effect to bring the minister at war to a favorable determination and to place me in a very advantageous light in the mind of my king—it will fix my military character —& I dare say my respectuous remembrance of his Exellency general Washington & my unalterable veneration & attachment to him will at all time support me in it in a manner worthy the esteem of his Exellency—

as the ministre at war has in a great measure the disposal of the several employment in the french army, I take the liberty to request you would write to him— I shall keap the letter untill I go to france & by the first opportunity I shall send to Court a copy of it.

Since my return from france I had no other occasion but the siege of York to go to the ennemy—I made it not only a point of honor but what I do esteem as high, a point of my duty towards your Exellency to act as a soldier at the head of the americain column that stormed the redoubt of the ennemy & otherwise during the siege to evidence that if your Exellency had honored me with thestimony of his esteem, I did all in my power to deserve it—Since that I rised & disciplined a corps, which I dare say was brought to that point of instruction & order which place troops in the stright road to succés, & whose conduct in being regular & agreable to the people has answered our ambition to evidence that a corps under your protection could not be otherwise but respectable.—

from your former kindness to the french officers I have been induced to promise to those of the legion who served with credit that I would request your Ex-

ellency to give them certificates—as their services were performed under me I have given to each of them my thanks in writing & observed with great attention to do them justice—I have given to Col° Cobb a copy of my letters to those gentlemen that your exellency may be better acquainted with their *conduct.*

the last personal favour which I have to request from your Exellency is the one which my heart is the most anxious to see granted—it is your leave to have your portrait made here & your permission to carry it on me—I beg your Exellency not to deny me this request—if granted I conceive it the most honorable reward that could be bestowed on a man so deeply attached to you as I am—

I have the honor to be with the highest respect Sir your Exellency's the most obed^t h^bl St.

ARMAND MQS DE LA ROUERIE.

his Exellency General Washington Commandier in Chief of the Americain forces, head quarter.

[*Endorsed:* Philadelphia 11 December 1783, from Brig^dr Gen^l Armand.]

No. 39. THE MOTHER OF ARMAND TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Rouerie 12^th Jan^y 1784.

" translation.

Will the heroe of our age, the man of all ages, the object of the admiration of all the nations & particularly of france, the theme of true enthusiasm, will the Great Washington allow a french woman, a native of Britanny, too aspiring perhaps, but still more an admirer of that commanding character, to join with a feeble voice in that tribute of praise which every one pays to that Great Man—Some compare him to Cezar, others to trajan, to Alexander, to fabius, to turenne & to Catinal

among the ancients, & they take the talents & virtues of modern Characters, in order to form out of them a Great Whole, but how could they form one to resemble thee, Washington, here their art fails, forgive this familiar Language, it is that in which we address the Gods.

Washington, I have a son, he leaves thee, he has served under thy Command, fought under thy Eyes, thou knowest him, thou dost more, thou honorest him with thy Esteem, impart those flattering sentiments to our Ministers, the opinions of such a man as thou art hath an ascendency which gives it the force of a law. What a title thy approbation ensures? he who hath acquired it hath obtained a right to that of every other person.

May the Parcæ spare the thread of thy Glorious Days which are so precious to Posterity, such is the ardent wish formed for the sake of Both, by the humblest of thy servants

THE MOTHER OF ARMAND.

His Exellency G^rl Washington.

No. 40. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Anapolis february 4^th 1784.

SIR,

being intrusted by G^rl Duportail, the officers of his corps & those of the legion with the management of their final settlement of accounts, I came to this place near three weeks ago; my intention was to lay our affairs before Congress, & while they had them under their consideration, to go and pay my respects to your Exellency.

I was to that point when Colonel humphrey told us that you were going to fredericksbourg & to return only in 10 or 12 days, during that time Congress have determined agreable to our request, & the distressed

condition of the officers concerned in their resolve oblige me to make all haste in my power towards philadelphia, less the thaw should prevent my being there for some weeks, which delay would be extremely hurtfull to those Gentlemen who at this moment are destitute of resources.

although those circumstances deprive me at present of the honor to pay a visit to your Exellency, I am happy in the idea that as soon I have finally settled with the Superintendent of finances I shall take a journey to virginia—the whole purpose of which will be to see once more the man which I shall love, respect & admire, all my days.

general mifflin who had intended to pay you a visit with me has posponed the journey and will go with the chevalier de la luzern—I enclose here a letter that was confided to my care.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Your Exellency's, Sir, the most obed^{t} h^{bl} St.

ARMAND.

[*Washington's* endorsement: "From General Armand 4th February 1784."

No. 41. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia 14th march 1784.

SIR,

I have received a letter from G^{rl} Duportail dated from Paris the 24th decembre last in which he gives me the following account of the succés which the order & society of the Cincinaty have in france—

the order of the Cincinaty has had great succés here, till this instant, the king has permitted the french officers who belongs to it to wear the badge of it—every man would wishes to have it—and those who have not served the necessary time in the Americain

army endeavour to give a turn to their brevets & furlough which may obtain them the honor of wearing it —I assure you that it has made & make now more noise here than it does in America, & the fact is, that there are many more for it than against—the officers of the french army are much flattered by that honorable distinction, & the count de rochambeau make a superiour affair of it—the mq^{uis} de la fayette who is commissioned by the order to receive in it the french officers who served in America, receive dayly applications on the subject from persons who ought to be sensible that they have no right to be admitted.

as the character of Cincinatus, so well marked by nature, acquired habilities & succés, in that one of your Exellency is the most just & honorable foundation of the order, I thought that the relation of my friend would be agreeable to you—and indeed to say or do anything that may be agreeable to your Exellency, is the superior wish governing my heart.

I have allmost finished with succés the affair of the legion & engineers, which give me the expectation of being able to go soon and pay my respects to your Exellency—in all probability it will be towards the later end of this month—

I have the honor to be with the highest respect Sir, Your Exellency's, the most ob^{dt} h^{ble} St.

ARMAND.

his Exellency General Washington

[*Washington's* endorsement: From General Armand, 14th Jan^{y} 1784.]

No. 41½. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia may 16, 1784.

SIR,

nothing pain me more than to trouble so often your exellency in requesting new favours while I feel that if

I live long my days will hardly be sufficient to thank you for those you have all ready bestowed on me, more particularly those which were a proof of your friendship—every step I take now with your Exellency is ambarrassing to me, and although I hope to succeed, my fear of displeasing is much greater than my hope, but after all I wrait & say, the general will do as he likes, and surely will be assured that my unlimited confidence in him will never permit me to think that he has not acted properly, even in refusing my request.

my friends wrait to me that from the conduct of the ministre and his answers on my subject, I may flatter myself to be made a brigadier in france at my arrival there & to have an agreable command—they tells me that a lettre from you to the ministre at war, on the subject would fix the matter—but that if you do not wish to wrait to him, I am still assured to be placed on the above mentioned footing in our army if your exellency would wrait to Count de Rochambeau, mentioning that it would be pleasing to you to see me have the rank of brigadier in france, & that having had the command of a legion during all the time of my services here, except in 1777 that I commanded a corps of light infantry, you wish also to see me provided with a command in france—Count Rochambeau whose dispositions are friendly to me will by your lettre be authorized to speak officially to the ministre & mention the particulars it may contain of your satisfaction of my services—thus I am assured I will have the great pleasure of being once more indebted to your Exellency for my advancement.

although when I had the honor to mention this subject to your Exellency you gave me expectations that you would wrait, if from further considerations it was displeasing to you—then do not wrait, I may run with a great deal of philosophy all chances in the world but that of displeasing you.

I am going to europe in a week or two—may I beg leave to wrait sometimes to your Exellency—I am

sure men of a much higher importance than I am are much flattered by the liberty of a correspondence with your Exellency, but I dare say none could be influenced to this request by stronger motives of attachment & respect than I am.

I have the honor to be with those sentiments, Sir, Your exellency, the most obd^{t} h^{ble} Ser^{t}

ARMAND.

[*Washington's* endorsement: General Armand, Marq^{s} de la Rouerie, 16th May 1784.]

No. 41¾. To GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia 18 May 1784.

SIR,

I take the liberty to inclose here a lettre from my worthy mother to your exellency, I had for some weeks past in my possession, but as she request in it your patronage of my services in America with the ministre in france, and knowing well, as I do, that a tryal of any influence, stranger to your own knowledge of my conduct would have been disagreeable to you, I did not wish to deliver it untill at my own request you had honored me with a lettre for count rochambeau.

the profound veneration & respect my mother bears to your exellency, the tenderness I owe to her title & conduct with me, do not permit me to detain longer the expression of her sentiments towards you—perhaps you will one day, at your time of leisure, honor me with a few lines in answer—I know too well how in that case she will be happy, to deprive her of the hope by not delivering the letter—I have enclosed it in a translation and her directions. I hope from the great filial tenderness your Exellency has evidenced that you will forgive the liberty I take here—

farewell my dear General, at your service & command Armand is for ever—may God almighty bless me with the opportunity to evidence the unlimited extent of the respect I have in my heart for you and with which I have the honor to be, Your exellency's Most obe^{dt} h^{ble} St.

ARMAND.

his Exellency Gen^{l} Washington

[*Washington's* endorsement: From General Armand Marq^{s} de la Rouerie May 18, 1784.]

No. 42. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Armand request his Exellency to compare the two inclosed papers, then to send him the original in philadelphia at the french ministre & to keap the copy by him—if his Exellency thought more proper to keap the original, Armand request him to send himthe copy attested by his Exellency—the purpose of Armand in communicating those papers to his Exellency is to preserve his Esteem when he is gone from the country if then attempts were made to diminish it.

(*Outside Address*) his Excellency G^{rl} Washington, (under which is the following by Washington)

"*Note*, the original papers, of which the enclosed are copies, were returned to General Armand after comparing them.

G^{o} WASHINGTON,

April 25, 1784."

With 42 (a)

Copy of a lettre dated the 19th decembre 1782.

SIR,

I am going from this state and since your friends had too much respect for themselves to take your

part or dares not take it openly, I find myself reduced to fight a man of your low character & the son of a man andighted for forgery.

I am on my march to the north & shall arrive at frederictown the 21st instant, & the 22d at eight o'clok in the morning I shall wait for you half a mile from the town on the road to Sheperstown, bring eight witnesses with you, each of them with à caise of pistols, bring more if you will, as for my part I shall have eight, bring also throgmorton who whatsoever unworthy as well as yourself he is the of the major's or any man's notice, will find him disposed to fight him—I have appointed the 22d because I shall remains at fredericton that day but should it be unpossible to you to be here at the time appointed, I shall remains till ten o'clock the 23d at the place appointed.

lee's plantation nbre 19, 1782.

ARMAND Mqs DE LA ROUERIE.

Mr Snickers.

With 42 (b)

We the Subscribers declare: That on the 21st instant we were called upon in fredericktown by Colo Armand to be witnesses of the Conduct of the parties concerned in a difference to be determined a Harpers ferry by 12 o'clock next day.

Early in the morning that day we sett out with the Colonel—Lieut Fontevieux his Second, Major Shaffner & three other officers of the Legion who considered themselves injured by the adverse party and attended in expectation of receiving satisfaction—When we had arrived in ab. a mile of the place appointed, by the desire of Colo Armand we and his Second went forward and crossed the Ferry, where after being informed who made up the party of Captn Snickers, Capt Morris recrossed the river and informed the Colonel they consisted of Capt Snickers—Major Willis his Second—and Genl Morgan, informing him at the

same time that Major Willis objected to any being present at the Combat but the principles and their seconds—Lieut Fontevieux said those Gentlemen being officers of the Maryland Line had attended at the instance of the Colonel as witnesses of the proceedings of the day—Major Willis said he would acquaint Cap^{t} Snickers of it—on his return said the Capt^{n} would admit one of the Gentlemen provided Col^{o} Armand had no objection to Cap^{t} Brady's being present also, which on the Colonels landing was agreed to—the Colonel then enquired after M^{r} Throghmorton and Major Nevil, and was answered they were not here to which he replied that he expected from what he had wrote they would have attended, but supposed they considered it more safe to stay away, that his injured officers had come to the other side of the River, and would cross to receive satisfaction from Snickers or any Gentleman who would stand in his place—Gen^{l} Morgan answeared that he would vouch for Major Nevil's attending had he conceived himself under any obligation, the Colonel said he must know he is charged with writing the piece, he was answeared by the General that the piece was acknowledged by its subscriber Capt. Snickers to be his own—well, well, we shall soon see how it will be—replied the Colonel—Capt^{n} Morris then asked if there was no way of settling the matter without its being carried to the greatest Extreems, was answered by the colonel with a degree of warmth, at the same time puting his hand into his pocket and taking out some Pistol Balls, with showing his Pistols said —these must settle it, there is no other way—Major Willis replied, take notice the motion did not come from our side.

the principles their Seconds and the appointed Spectators Capt^{n} Brady & Dyer, retired to the field, when after the necessary preparations were made, and the distance of tenn paces prescribed the combatants took their Posts and fired—some thing though not material was said by Capt^{n} Brady for an accommodation, it not

being attended to they called for their Pistols for another round, when the Colonel missed fire—Major Willis then proposed that an accommodation take place, and was [answered] by Col° Armand, if he, Cap^t^ Snickers, will take in his publication he may go about his Business, and I to my troop. Capt^n^ Snickers replied, if you will first acknowledge you treated me ill, I will withdraw the piece—the Colonel said—that can never be, come take your Pistols Sir—on which a third round ensued, the Colonels pistol again missing fire, when Major Willis renewed his good intentions for accommodating the matter, which commenced and continued through as in the last, when Cap^t^ Snickers proposed to Col° Armand a settlement, by withdrawing that part of the publication that opperated against him, which he in plain terms rejected and desired him to take his pistols again, that as yet he made but one fire. Some altercation ensuing, when Major Willis took possession of Capt^n^ Snickers Pistols, and declared they should not be further used on this occasion—it was his opinion they had fought enough, to continue it further he thought could be of no addition to the Honor of either, and at the risque of his reputation was determined to keep them, and called on Gen^l^ Morgan, who at this time with the rest of the absentees were present, for his assistance as a superior officer, to prevent any further fighting—at this juncture the General and major Shaffner were in conversation, when the later said if Col° Armand was done with Capt^n^ Snickers, he would take the Colonels place, the General replied, he Snickers should fight no more if he was done with the Colonel, the Major said he has injured me, his fighting the Colonel is not giving me satisfaction—for if one Gentleman insults ten, he has ten Gentlemen to give satisfaction to, *or his friends must do it and I believe you to be his friend*, the General with a shew of warmth asked him if he knew whom he was talking to, he [said] *he did, I know you are an officer and I am another*, to this was replied he

would arrest both him and Col° Armand if they persisted in continuing the matter—the Colonel answeared he should obey no arrest from him on the occasion, the General said, I am a General officer and will let you know you shall obey any arrest from me, the Colonel replied, I know you are a General officer, but you have on this occasion made void your authority by knowing & attending the bussiness of this day and more especially by admitting it to take place, which done, we may continue or decline [on such principles as we may think proper] without paying any respect to your authority. The Gentlemen present interposing the dispute dropt, when a motion was made that although the principles had fought, the parties concerned in the Difference still remained in the same disagreeable situation they were in, and recommended that [four] or five of the gentlemen present should be appointed to settle the dispute, which after some time was agreed to, and all adjourned to Capt^n^ Brady's an adjacent house, where the matter was settled in the matter and form of which you have a true Copy—

Jn^a^ Morriss, Capt^n^ 1^st^ Maryland Reg^t^.
Edw^d^ Dyer Capt^n^ 3^d^ Maryland Reg^t^.

Sir—At your particular request we have been thus particular in our narrative State of this affair, which we think is correct—and have only to wish when requisite, it may prove satisfactory.

[We are Sir, y^r^ m° ob^t^ & very H^ble^ Serv^ts^]
Jona Morris
Edw^d^ Dyer

Fredericktown December 26, 1782.

[Col° Armand.]

With 42 (c) Copy.*

We the subscribers being called upon to settle a dispute between Col° Armand, Major Shaffner, Cap^{t} de Bert, Capt^{n} Sharp, Lieut. de coutures & Cornet M^{c}-Dougle of his Corps on the one side, and Capt^{n} Snickers and M^{r} throgmorton on the other—are of opinion that the matter arose from a misunderstanding —Col° Armand and Capt^{n} Snickers who have been principles in this matter by their conduct at this meeting evinced this opinion—we do therefore in the names of those Gentlemen desire that an immediate stop may be put to all publications on this head and that this unhappy dispute may be buried in oblivion.

Edw^{d} Dyer
Jon^{a} Morris
W^{m} Bready
Fra^{s} Willis, Jun^{r}

[* Insert what follows previously
Gent^{n} We have called on you to settle the dispute between

C. Armand, Marq^{s} de la Rouerie
William Snickers.

To

Capt^{n} Edw^{d} Dyer
Capt^{n} Jn° Morris
Capt^{n} W^{m} Bready
Maj^{r} Fran^{s} Willis]

[The asterisk and its corresponding foot note are all in Washington's hand-writing—evidently his corrections made on comparing the copies sent by Col. Armand, with the originals. The words and sentences in the preceding narrative (b) in brackets, are also Washington's corrections.]

No. 43. To General Washington.

la Rouerie par Fougéres in Bretagne
June 18th 89.

Sir,

I had the honour of writing to your Exellency by Mr de Bert an ancient captain of the Legion I had the happyness to command in your army—that gentleman was going to settle and live in your country. it was a good opportunity for my heart since it was a man for whom I have a great esteem which I intrusted with the care of the expressions and protestations of my unlimited sentiments of respect, veneration, gratitude, permit me, Sir, to say, tenderness for your Exellency. Mr de Bert has had since some familly affaires which have detained him in france six months more, & perhaps you will receive this letter before the one which he has taken the charge of.

We have had the confirmation that you are by your post at the head of affaires; in my former letter to your Exellency I complimented your country on that event, which surely will be like all those where circumstances have permitted you to be concerned in, the most advantageous & dear to America & the most renowned in her history—as to you, Sir, I do not think you have had any promotion—your influence over your country men & in public affaires and in the many services & virtues which gave it to you, had placed and maintened you upon that mighty eminence from which the man who happen to be Born every three or four hundred years, look down with a holy pride & tranquility upon kings, & great dignitary while individuals & nations look up with respect and admiration to that man and regret, for the happyness & honor of humanity, he does not command over the whole world.

If I was less known from your exellency, if my private character was less experienced by my friends &

acquaintances I would be unhappy, or reither I would forbear myself, to mantion here anything relative to my interest & that of the officers who served with me. But surely, Sir, you will never accuse Armand of the baseness of a flattery, nor of a blamable or il becoming thought on money's matter—But as America has acknowledged a debt towards us and taken public engagements to pay regularly the interest of it I think it not only right, but my duty, since it is me that have settled with Congress the affaires of those officers, to complain of the forgetfullness of their Board of treasury —we have not been paid since four years and our several applications to obtain justice on that head, have meet with too little attention on the part of the officers of Congress, not to be in some way reither injurious to the character of common justice, equity, & politicks of those gentlemen—it would be too long & tedious for your Exellency if I was to mention the several circumstances of these officers with whom Congress have contracted engagements and which arise from their not being performed. I will say in general that although the war in America might have been of a great advantage, even a *pecuniary* one, to foreigners officers who allways more attentive to their fortunes & to draw benefit of every chance that could lead to it, than to establish their character as men, received in particular great sums of money, served little as to the time, some very little as to the services, it has not been so favourable in that way for those who gave themselves entirely up to their own principles of honor & their attachment to the cause of america—on the other hand, the officers without exception who have remained in america, do enjoy the full benefit of their contract from congress, since if not directly paid, they may discharge their taxes with a part of their Bills, & sell the other to be made use of for the same purpose—I beg your pardon, Sir, for keaping you so long on that subject, but I hope you will feel the propriety of my request, and make use of your influence to obtain for our cause the justice

it deserves, if not obtained by you, Sir, we must renounce to obtain it ever, and indeed if you do not think it worth your attention & care, I shall then be in the doubt whether or not it is just we should be payed at all.

our affaires in this part of the world do not go as honest & impartial men could wish—the pretentions of the leaders of the people seems to take their exageration more in the novelty of their desires & thoughts for freedom than in the justice of the cause. from thence there are convulsions and no wise measures—there are crayings & few reasonings—every wit has pretentions to be a genius—any poor devil that knew a little of the querk & formerly took advantage of every beam of despotism that glistened on his profession, to vex & ruin his more ignorant neighbours, pretend, in this great day, to be a sound legislator, he speak all the word—he know and never stop but when people fattigued with the empty puffed oratory, request to be informed of the sens & meaning—then my man begin to retreat and on his way back to his warren carry with him the laughs & curses of the auditory and meet a new champion going to reamplace him in a post on a duty where he is to be afflicted with the same fate—men of wit we have—men of learning and virtuosos in arts & sciences we have; but men remarkable by a great soundness and extent of improved jugement, by a profound devotion to the publick's good and welfare, by a long and deep study on mankind, on the several forms of government, on that perfect proportion in the mixture of naturals & civil rights so necessary to the happyness and tranquility of nations, those men we have not, at least none has showed himself, and if there was one he allready would be guilty for having remained so long behind the curtain—on the other side the Nobility appear to have a great sense of the importance of their birth's rights & really conceive them in general in as a reasonable way as it may be expected in a *monarchical government like*

our. But yet, their meaning & wishes want a degree of perfection in the explanation & propriety in their conduct which, from our having been so long a time absolute strangers to states affaires, we are not instructed or persuasive enough to give or to observe—the clergy has intirely left aside the affaires of heaven and seems not to care more for S^{t} péter, than for luther or any other who recommend moderation; decency & fraternity—they would come to blows if they had more courage and a lesser number of natural's children to take care of.

the king is the king as usual and his ministers know nor desire very little to know how to govern agreeable to his undoubtfull royal intentions & wishes, that is all we may ask from a king—they have devided the nation, & as the principle was guilty & nonsensicall, none of them are able to draw an advantageous consequence from it, either from the nation or government, nor to avoid anarchy or perhaps *much worse*—it is my opinion that your exellency must expect to hear before long very afflicting news for your humane heart from this part of the world.

for my part forced by my own conscience, patriotism & situation to act on occasions, I have maintained myself without any great efforts, the friend of all party, and I have often at my table and at the same time, men of the three orders, and, as my wine is not bad, as my doings are inoffensive, my past & present conduct obliging and amical towards my vassals, and my countenance gay and friendly, my neighborhood is perhaps the corner of this small part of france where ancient affection regard & moderation will suffer no alteration—we have an acquaintance which indeed I have, since my mature knowledge of him, avoided to cultivate much, who has endeavoured to fly very high, but he has too soon published his intention and he do not fly at all—I wish he may walk long.

I have been pretty active last year & in the beginning of this when I thought the activity of an individual

could be of service to his country—I have two months ago terminated my political career by a long and hot skirmish with some great protectors of the invaders of naturals & civils rights in our assembly of nobility & have carryed against them the perfect equality of impositions; upon this my head had no need to work —it was an affaire of justice, equity and of course an affaire of heart for which I deserve no other recommendation but that of having done my duty at that instant—I am now in position, waiting for the event which the struggles in the states general will produce —I fear two great evils for my country—anarchy on the one hand—despotism on the other; if such is the case and a man who has served under your Excellency cannot be succéssfully employed in the remedy, adieu, my ill fated country and I fly to your—I am young, strong, I have a pretty good estate when once gathered in a bag, a heart devoted to good doings, and a head that has taken some maturity under the sun of america; I hope that one day, such a man, destitute of ambition & prejudices, will not be rejected when he shall go and request to take the oath of allegiance & fidelity to the laws, government & people of north america.

fidelity and justice to my principles, feelings and duty oblige me to swear here, Sir, that his excellency general washington has no friend and admirer more possessed of attachement and respect for his person than his most humble & obe^{dt} servante

ARMAND.

his excellency G^{rl} Washington
North america.

Endorsed: From the Marq: de la Rouerie 18th June 1789. Answ^{d} Oct^{r} 17th 1789.

No. 44. To General Washington.

la Rouerie, January 2d, 90.

Sir,

Was I only acquainted with your high character and the eminent post where it has placed you, as in your most natural position, without being at the same time incouraged in the respectuous liberty which your goodness inspire, I would restrain the satisfactions of my heart on your account, to the possession of the highest sentiments he is capable of entertaining for the man who, the world knows is the compound of the highest virtues, and not indulge myself so often in the warmest desire which, after that of your happiness, animate me; that of repeating you how dear your Excellency is to Armand; how much it pains me to be so far off, while in the rank of your most sincere admirers, while ever since I quitted you, I am troubled with the desire to go & see you. I have indeed, an opportunity to satisfy myself on that head, but I can only trust it with a letter, and my person, my inactive and perhaps very useless person must make a longer stay at home. in the midst of the storm I am too well situated in the affections and regards of the people round me, & indeed in those of the state of Brittany, for me to run the risk by such a long journey as that over to america, to create suspicions on my deed or principles, more particularly at the moment, where such dissatisfaction may arise, as will require the activity of all friends to humanity.

I do not know indeed what to relate to you of the transactions which rascality, madness, avarice, and that superpowerfull love for disorder, which seems to be liberty to the eyes of insurrecting slavery, have performed since I had the honour to write to your Excellency by Capt Bert—you have surely received the most essentials news; But although your natural perspicacity and your acquired knowledge of men and

nations will notwithstanding the distance, draw the most just consequences from all our sublime havock; I wish for your own recreation, you were for a month an eye witness; your Excellency would at first rush in anger against rascality—blush to see so little common sense among things who pretend to have with all nations a common father above; then, Sir, you would give a smile of pity, order your ship to put all her sails, and return to your happy country.

our constitution's makers dispute, slander, fight, & kick each other unmercifully; they reproach each other with being entirely destitute of the parts necessary to the frame of legislators or even administrators; on that point the wise and attentive part of the nation agree pretty well with them; but when once in a Body, they pretend to be the only politick corps in the world on which the almighty has bestowed the power of making good laws—to hear many of them, your country has not known what the war was about, you do not plainly understand the word liberty; you have not snapt at the throat of that goddess like we have done; you love her with her eyes intirely open, we are resolved to have her intirely blind—you have fought bravely, most greatly—we have murdered most cowardly, we have stolen and we remain firm in the resolution to steal most admirably;—you have understood liberty the power of every individual to do as he please, provided his doings do not hurt the laws made for the safety and happiness of all the citizens—we have, on this of the water, understood liberty, the power of every individual to do as he please, provided he do not hurt the laws made, or oppose the laws to be made, in favor of disorder, crimes & anarchy throughout the empire, but at the same time, he is permitted to do, if he can, worse than the law prescribe—You believe in God, in the respect due to virtues—we neither believe in God, or have any respect for virtue—all your laws, obedience to them, emulation to perfect them, fraternal love betwixt States

& individuals, unity of sentiments, heavenly indulgence for mistakes, do surely give you now a predominant character among the nations of the world, and in a short succession of times, will make you the most flourishing one, and attract over to you every friend to humanity, if not possibly in person, at least in wishes & hearts.

But, Sir, we are another sort of people, and despise any modelation from abroad, for many years to come we shall have no laws, or, which is worse, we shall pay no attention to them,—we have a great emulation & amazings powers to do bad, we do what we can to destroy our peace, fortune and happiness at home, and of course our strength to repel the foreign invaders of our fields, I do not say of our kingdom, of our empire, of our government; for there is no more kingdom, empire in france; as to government, as the one we seems to wish for is a mere anarchical one, I believe nobody beside us can like it, and therefore we shall be left at liberty to keap it as long as we please, it is true, we have the consolation to foresee that it cannot last longer than the end of the world.

Your Excellency may well suppose, from the situation which for many years past we have been in; from the conduct & principles of those who were appointed to bring the radical Balsam and [put] everything to rights—from the coleric temper, the inconstancy, the want of unanimous or well understood will and plan of the people at large---from the rapacity, egotisme of their leaders, from that puffed importance which they bring in trifles, as for example to recommend to the respects of the nation, the extraordinary bravery, military parts and probity of fifty of their militia heroes, for having manifested at the utmost those qualifications in their successfull attack on the garret of a poor curate of village and to have carried off his grain, while he in his kitchen philosophised on the occasion, and endeavoured with the assistance of his old maid, to find the meaning of some passage of the Bible, that

when great circumstances offer, he may mix something of it in his embarassed speech to his parishioners—from that horrid importance & dignity, as for example on the side of the chiefs of the murderers in paris, which they bring in the most shamefull & criminal doings—from the influence of the money men, who after having lived for many century, on the purest blood of the people, acquire yet at this epoch, a new force to be with more succés their butchers & rulers, through the analogy which their purse filled up with the fruits of their crimes, have with the inclinations & character of our present, still much better than it had with our past, statesmen—from the favor & protection granted to all the paper's money makers, as the caisse déscompte &c—from the bills of anticipation, which are orders on the revenue to come, nay often, and it is now the case, on an imaginary revenue, and are nothing else but paper money, for when the revenue come new anticipations are created and allways increased as to the sum, the revenue appropriated to pay the anticipation is spent to other objects when necessity require it; and I never knew such a beggar, or such a thief, as the necessity of government in our country: he is allways at your door, and has a change of so many faces, shapes, voices and words that poor people who know perfectly well their own necessity, never can know that of government; I mean, never can distinguish her from what is no necessity—New bills under new denominations are successively added to the first, and by and by with the help of our loans, which are still paper money, we are come to have nothing's else but paper's money, I call that, in such a country as this, a perfect state of bankruptcy. —from all those, I say, and this is hardly the half of the Basis for judging right, your Excellency may suppose that the bulk of the nation is and will grow more and more dissatisfyed; that she will first try her power not to obey the laws, then refuse openly to acknowledge the laws, then rise her thoughts & wills to anger & activ-

ity, and be, as it is now the case in many places, adverse to the establishment of any laws, which the ignorant and improvident part of the people should not frame themselves—a civil war appear to me as well near as possible ; a general war in europe, I think unavoidable—we might perhaps foresee the time it shall begin, as to the end, I believe there are few political physiognomes that can determine.

ah, my dear general, the man ever dear to all sensible and good men, it is not thus that you and your country have conquered liberty ;—your sword in the the hand of equity and honour established the principle ; your virtues and those of America, found, determined and fixed all at once the blessed limits wherein there is a full enjoyment of liberty for honest men, and enough to hinder people of another cast from seeking their satisfaction in disorder & crimes.

we have received some month ago four years interest from Congress, & we have hopes to be payed exactly—I am persuaded we owe this justice to the attention of your Excellency—Be so good, Sir, as to accept of our most cordial and respectfull homages of gratitude—I take the liberty to request my lady Washington to accept those of my respect.

I have the honor to be with that Sentiment, Sir, Your Excellency's the most obed^{t} h^{ble} servante

ARMAND.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From the Marq^{s} de la Rouerie. 2^{d} Jan^{y} 1790.]

N^{o}. 45. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

la Rouerie, 20th August, 1790.

SIR,

Since five years that I am returned from America, my dearest thoughts have been taken up with the re-

membrance of the days which I spent under the command of your exellency. By the tender veneration which your character has forever engraved into my soul, I know that men of such a high merit owe no gratitude or return for the affections which their virtues inspire; it is their due—But those who love them truly are no less to be complained when they are left in the doubt whether or not their homages are acceptables. Since five years I had the honor to write to your Exellency as often as my fears to become troublesome did permit me—the first year I received an answer, and it is the only proof I have that you have not entirely forgotten one of your most faithfull admirers.

Should your Exellency find me in fault to have contented myself with resisting, in the name of honor and humanity, to the absurdities, despotism and cruelty of ancient government, and not to have taken any active part in what is doing here these two years. But no, Sir, you have better informations than from those men who through the desire of making noise in the world, no matter in which way, with what principles would persuad you that there is something worthy of your esteem in our national havock, and, by that mean, would try to blind you on the motives of their abortive endeavors & conduct. I could see from the very principles on which the leaders of the people started, from their known character, from the stupidity and perfect incapacity of the people, that all their efforts would be turned with succés towards the folly & crimes, which would enrich themselves, and lead the empire to a perfect dissolution, and such is the present state of things. no laws in activity except those that might destroy national honor & the tranquility of individuals, if there were any remaining in the kingdom; a perfect & general diffidence throughout all its parts; no money, no trade, no army, no navy; in a word nothing that can give us any importance in the eyes of our ennemies,

and in those of our ally & friends; we were, more by natural circumstances, than through good laws and good conduct, a very powerfull empire, now we are the most pitifull one, if it still merits to retain the name, that ancient & modern history can offer. Surely, Sir, when you know what we are, and how we are become so, if you remember me, you will give your approbation to my conduct, what I may say in her favor, is that having resisted all the solicitations, either kinds or unkinds, to enter the list of all the revolutions madness, and having constantly refused to take any oath to the new frame of anarchy, I have been and I am still undisturbed, untouched by their innumerables new forms of vexations—those that might reach me know well that a true friend to liberty cannot be a friend to anarchy, and may well resist persecution. I believe this is, in a great measure, the cause of my tranquility while castles were burning on every parts of france and in my neighbourhood, I was adding considerable buildings to mine—in a word, all what has passed has not occasioned me to take a step less or more than I was accustomed—my ancient vassals have continued to act with that friendship & respect which they testified to me before: and except those who have a seat in our national assembly, every one of which I despise with profusion, no matter which side they have taken, for they have all betrayed their charges, I have the same friends I had before.

this is a long letter, much too long from a man whom it appears has lost the little share he boasted to have in your affection. But, Sir, if I have truly lost it, I must trie not to lose your esteem; and as never that misfortune can happen to me while my heart & conduct shall be known to your Excellency, I have taken the liberty to give you here a short relation of my principles and condition.

permit me, Sir, to request lady washington to accept the homage of my respect.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Sir, your most ob^{dt} humble Servante,

ARMAND.

his Excellency G^{rl} Washington.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From The Marq^{s} de la Rouerie, 20th Aug^{t} 1790.]

No. 46. TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

la Rouerie, 22^{d} march, 1791.

SIR,

M^{r} le Chevalier de Combourg a nobleman of the state of Brittany & a neighbour of mine is going over to north america, the purpose of that journey, I presume, is to enrich his mind by the active contemplation of such a moving & happy country, and to satisfy his soul by seeing the extraordinary man & those respectable citizens, who, led by the hand of virtue through the most difficult contest, have made their chief counsellor of her in establishing and enjoying their liberty; his relations for whom I have a very great regard, desire me to recommend him to the notice of your Excellency; I do it with pleasure, because that gentleman has allways appeared to me to have a good right to the commendable reputation which he does enjoy—he is a man of wit, and much of his time has been taken up by the cultivation of that natural gift.

our political affairs in this part of the world are in the most deplorable situation—loyalté, good sense, firmness, seems to be banished from our unhappy, and perhaps, more guilty, country; the compassion of God almighty is the only resource which remains to us; But I am sure he is Just, and of course I fear his mercy will be only felt long after his severity.

may france, by her present condition, be now and in all future times a tremendous instance for all people

on earth, of the great risk & destruction which threaten nations, when, without any regard to their moral & physical circumstances, instead of wisely & slowly reforming abuses and repairing breaches made to their constitution, they confide the over setting of the whole into the hands and at the discretion of ambition, avarice, ignorance, caprices, and of all the private interest which follow of course,—may your [country] dear General, follow, while this world will last, the impulsion given her by your great heart, your incomparable wisdom, and by that candour which so well characterize the present generation of north america.

I have been honored in january last with your letter of the 13th of october 1789. Mr de moustier is not the speedyest nor the most faithfull messenger in europe, but at this time, it appears essential to those men, to counterpoise with all their habilities, the conveniency & inconveniency of all their steps; even that of delivering up a letter directed from a free country to a lover of that country who reside in our.

I beg leave to offer here to lady washington the best homages of my respect—I have the honour to be with the most profound impression of that sentiment, Sir, your Excellency's, the most humble, obedt & faithfull servante,

ARMAND.

G. Washington, president of the united states of north america.

[*Washington's* endorsement: From General Armand, Marqs de la Rouerie, March 22, 1791.]

III.

LETTERS TO ROBERT MORRIS.

1775–1782.

LETTERS TO ROBERT MORRIS.

From John Bondfield.

Montreal, 4 feb. 1776.

Sir,

This being the scene which naturally draws at this juncture the attention of the Colonies, giving you some outlines of our situation may be useful and satisfactory. The loss of Genl. Montgomery with the circumstances of that repulse from the publick you will undoubtedly be fully inform'd. At his death there being no other General the command devolved on Colonel Arnold, an enterprising intelligent officer, but inexperienced in the command of a body of land forces, however his activity and good will cover his other wants. Unfortunately he was wounded and is yet confined to his room.

The siege was immediately formed into a blockade which subsists with the strictest observance at this day, not the least intelligence being carried on with the town and country. The number of continental forces was so inadequate to the undertaking that the well wishers to the American cause suspected that either the colonies were not in a situation to pursue their apparent measures or that having put Canada into the hands of the Inhabitants they might stand and depend on themselves for their further defences, for the Colonies could never flatter themselves that with a force so weak and still more weakly supplied with necessaries could alone penetrate thro' Canada to Quebec: nor could it have been effected had not the Canadians

opened the Road and led them by the hand to the very gates of the Capitol. Fortunate events and the want of Foresight in the ministers of administration in this Province contributed to their successes on which in future a dependance must not be made—regular concerted plans duly pursued and supported with vigor and perseverance must now be the object of consideration. By keeping this Province steddy to the Colonies, peace is secured to all the back settlements from New England to the Carolinas, all which would lay exposed to numberless inroads and would require armies on armies to watch; whereas the men in garrison at Quebec will hold this Province from end to end entirely obedient to the views that may be found most useful. The ensuing Spring it may be expected Great Britain will make an attempt to recover Quebec. The Natives united to the Colony Troops will render every attempt of that nation abortive, but to that end the Congress must not at this time be scanty in her supplies of men money and ammunition, and must not place a dependance on the Canadians until by trials repeated and their being so deeply engaged in the present contest as to render their vigorous exertion acts of necessity and self defence—it's not yet arrived to that degree. A general act of oblivion proclaimed the ensuing Spring by the Ministerial troops unless a sufficient body of Provincials is with us so as to second and support a rejection to the offers the event would be doubtful; for tho' the Canadians have a Bias to the American claims wherein they have a distant glance of services to themselves, yet being allways subject to a servile obedience, their abhorrence of Despotism is not held in such odious colours as to the Colonies, who hold their charter rights and privileges in a more enlightened view. Quebec must be reduced and preserved, cost what it may to America, for by that measure America remains free to exert all her forces on the sea Coasts. The garrison of Quebec to properly man requires 6000 men, and 2000 more ought to be dispersed thro' the pro-

vince to circumvent and watch every step of opposition, this will not be for long continued but only to animate the Canadians to embark as Principals.

With respects, I am, Sir, Your very hbl. Servt,

JOHN BONDFIELD.

To Mr. Robert Morris, at Philadelphia.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Fishkills, Octr 6, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed is a part of the late invisible parts of Mr Dean's letters. You will perceive some blanks in it. Mr D. it seems did not write with his usual care and accuracy. There are many blots in one of the letters and in one or two instances the lines cross and run into one another. Little material is however illegible. I am happy to find our affairs wear so pleasing an aspect in France.

This most certainly will not be the last campaign, and in my opinion Lord Howe's operations cannot be so successful and decisive as greatly to lessen the Ideas which foreign nations have conceived of our Importance. I am rather inclined to think that our declaring Independence in the face of so powerful a fleet and army will impress them with an opinion of our strength and spirit; and when they are informed how little of our Country is in the Enemy's possession, they will unite in declaring us invincible by the arms of Britain.

If the works carrying on by the General for obstructing the navigation of Hudson's river at Mount Washington prove effectual, Lord Howe must rest content with the City of New York for this Campaign. For altho it is not impossible for him to land a large body of troops on the shores of the Sound and there-

by divide our forces, yet no great matters can by that means be achieved—Our communication with the army by the Sound is already cut off by the ships of war; and any strong Post they might take on the shore would not much injure our communication by land. But should they on the contrary be able suddenly to penetrate the North River with a few ships of war and a number of Transports, they would effectually destroy all communication between the upper Country and the army by land and water. For before the shores would be put in such a state of defence as to prevent their landing with success, they might possess themselves of Posts and Passes, by nature so strong as to be long tenable against a much superior force.

Should an event of this sort take place, we should be in a disagreeable situation. Flour and lumber could not then be carried to the Army but by a circuitous route thro abominable Roads, and it is a matter of some doubt whether our utmost exertions to supply them would be successful. Had I been vested with absolute power in this State, I have often said and still think that I would last Spring have desolated all Long Island, Staten Island, the City and County of New York and all that part of the County of West Chester which lies below the mountains. I would then have stationed the main body of the army in the mountains on the East and eight or ten thousand men in the Highlands on the West side of the river. I would have directed the river at Fort Montgomery which is nearly at the Southern extremity of the mountains to be so shallowed as to afford only depth sufficient for an Albany sloop and all the Southern Passes and defiles in the mountains to be strongly fortified. Nor do I think the shallowing the river a romantic scheme. Rocky mountains rise immediately from its shores, the breadth is not very great, tho the depth is. But what cannot eight or ten thousand men well worked effect? According to this plan of defence this State would be absolutely impregnable against all the world on the

seaside, and would have nothing to fear except from the way of the lakes. Should the enemy gain the river even below the mountains I think I foresee that a retreat will become necessary and I cannot forbear wishing that a desire of saving a few acres may not lead us into difficulties. Such is the situation of this State at present and so various and I may say successful have been the arts of Gov^r^ Tryon and his adherents to spread the seeds of disaffection among us that I cannot at present obtain permission to return to Congress. Our Convention continues unanimous in all its measures and to do them justice are diligent as well as zealous in the cause.

As long as your whimsical constituents shall permit the gentleman to whom I am writing to remain among the number of those honest and able patriots in Congress, in whose hands I think the Interest of America very safe; the Congress will possess too great a stock of abilities to perceive the absence of my little mite. It gives me pleasure however to reflect that your remarks on this subject, however ill founded, would have been dictated only by that friendly partiality which you have shewn me, and which in this instance has been permitted to impose on your judgment. I wish the Secret Committee would communicate no other intelligence to the Congress at large, than what may be necessary to promote the common Weal, not gratify the curiosity of individuals. I hint this, because a copy of letter from A. L. to that Committee has lately been sent by a member of Congress to a gentleman of his acquaintance who is not a member of Congress. I came by this intelligence in such a way as to speak with certainty, for I have seen the copy, but at the same time in such a way as not to be able with propriety to mention names. You will be pleased therefore to make no other use of this information than to induce the greater caution in the Committee. For as to binding certain members in the house to secresy by oaths or otherwise would be just as ab-

surd as to swear Lee (no matter which of them) to look or feel like Ned Rutledge.

Had M^r^ Deane mentioned to me his having conversed with you relative to the mode of writing I communicated to him, I should most certainly have spoken to you on the subject, and will when we meet give you the same information respecting it that I did to him. I am, D^r^ Sir, with Respect & Esteem your most ob^t^ serv^t^,

JOHN JAY.

FROM GEN. THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Elizabeth Town, 21 Nov , 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Several Gentlemen are just come in from Hackensack. They say that the Enemy landed the night before last at Dobbs Ferry a large body of men who marched immediately towards Fort Lee—that a second party of 4000 men landed yesterday morning at 4 o'clock near Hawbuck which is 12 miles below Fort Lee and march'd towards that Fort. That Fort Lee was yesterday abandon'd with its principal stores & artillery—that 2000 Bls Flour which were stor'd at English Neighborhood have fallen into the Enemy's hands—that General Washington has retir'd to Hackensack Bridge with all the Garrison of Fort Lee, Heards and Bells brigades am^g^ to 5000 men—that the enemy are on the East side of the bridge—that our entrenching tools are all lost—they relate many other matters which are of less moment. There has most certainly been some great movement of the Enemy toward Fort Lee, w^ch^ probably has been evacuated; as near 40 wagons loaded with stores from that neighbourhood were sent to Brunswick by the General's orders two days past, and other preparations were made for that purpose.

The unhappy affair of Mount Washington has

totally changed the Face of the Campaign and may probably encourage the Enemy to push forward untill they are rebuff'd.

The situation of Philad[a] is in my opinion critical. An action in New Jersey will undoubtedly precede the attack of that place—but if the action should turn against us, Philad[a] will in a few hours after it shake to her centre. I wish to see or hear of some preparations to withstand such a probable event. I do not mean to alarm; but in my opinion, the obliging that City and many counties of Pennsylvania to submit to the Tyrant this winter would not be an event unparalleled in History.

The bad policy of attempting to make a stand at M[t] Washington is now evident. I have talk'd heretofore about it & about it. I have abus'd the project and was never more surprised or shagrined than when I heard that post was reinforced instead of being dismantled and abandon'd. Had we adhered to the Fabian plan we should have been at . . . in the seat of Honour this Winter; the Enemy would have come off without Honour & Europe would have given us strong proofs of her affection before the Spring. But you Gentry at Philad[a] love Fighting & wish to see matters put to the Hazard . . . your passion for brilliant actions with raw undisciplined troops or you will lose one half your Country.

The enclosed is just handed to me by General Williamson. The Deponents he says are to be credited.

You will make a proper and cautious application of what I have said

I am affectionately Yours,

T. Mifflin.

Robert Morris, Esq.,
in Congress at Philadelphia.

Enclosures.

The examination of M^r^ Adam Burgar Nov. 20^th^ 1776.

This deponent saith that on Saturday evening last he went over to Staten Island in Company with Jacob Moa Searen & Legrange, that he parted with them near a shop about one mile from I. Measarau's House that he found at that House three men which he was afraid off, & staid some time by the Barn. At about seven o'clock seven soldiers of the 14 Reg^t^ came upon him and took him prisoner—they ask't him where he was going, he made no answer they carry'd him to Coll. Dalrymple who knew him as he had formerly lived in the house where he served his time—the Col^l^ gave him liberty to go to New York, he went over on Sunday, & walkt about the City and was askt no questions—by what he could learn about the City they were preparing a large fleet of 200 sail to gon some expedition—he understood Lord Dunmore was to go with them—he understood they designed to make an attack on some part of the Jerseys—he saw them taking out many ships as transports—there was a great many Hessians in the City and a great many other soldiers, the artillery was brought down yesterday. General How came to York this day—It was the common talk in town that they took 2800 prisoners at Fort Washington, that there was a great many Hessians kil'd, & many of the Highlanders—he heard an officer that came down with the prisoners tell an officer in town, who askt him how many they had lost who told him between fourteen & fifteen hundred.

The firing this day was down by the hook & outside of Long Island. Nine ships which were transports came within the narrows on board of which he saw soldiers their coats turn'd up with white and Buff—he saw three sail near the hook under the sail and one at anchor—he heard several of the officers

say at York they expected 130 sail of Transports every day with provisions and men.

By the great firing he heard outside of the hook this day he believed it to be that fleet and an officer on board the Boat said it was the Fleet expected and the reason of their firing was for Pilots, or occation'd by the weather being thick and hazy—he heard several of the gentlemen of York and the officers swear vengence against the Jerseys amongst which was Hugh Gain, W^m^ Bayard, Weatherhead and Young Brown Johns.

M^r^ Adam Burgar being sworn declares the foregoing narrative to be true to the best of his knowledge.

Sign'd ADAM BURGAR.

The examination of M^rs^ Smith.

That a large number of artillerymen with the artillery came down to York yesterday and she heard them say, that they were to embark today on an Expedition—She saw several sail coming up the Narrows & three at the hook under way. The firing to Day it was said was for Pilots, & that there was much talk of attacking Fort Constitution. The chief part of the Shipping has haul'd out into the North river. The Guards in the City are British Troops—A young man that liv'd with Lord Dunmore told her about a fortnight ago that Lord Dunmore was to go home to England and that he was to go with him and has heard several times since that they were gone to England.

FROM BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Balto^e^, Jany 8, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

Your two favors of the 29^th^ ult^o^ and 2^d^ Inst. I have had several days, and should have answer'd them

sooner but have been very unwell ever since Friday last. I have taken my last dose I hope today and that I shall be about again tomorrow. I do not know that I have been so vex'd with myself for some time, as I am for not informing you that the secret [Committee of Congress] has bo[t] a fast sailing vessel which is now ready to sail for Nantes, and is only detain'd for a certain acc[t] of our General's success. Faulty as I am, you must give me some little credit when I tell you it proceeded from my not doubting your getting the information from the secret Comm[ee] who are not able to answer the letters they rec[d] on the subject of trade without your assistance, they have received volumes from Pliarne & Comp[y] who must think strangely of you if they do not get satisfactory answers to them which I am sure they will not do as the answer I saw deliver'd could not contain the tenth part of it, which lead to the enquiry whether you had been inform'd of the vessels going, or not. Besides the dispatches that will go by the above schooner we have others prepared for Buchanan's ship which it is expected will sail today or tomorrow. We have not heard a word of pirates on this Coast, if any appear you shall most assuredly be advised as soon as the acc[t] reaches us. I will forward the money [for] *Ben* when you shall please to order it and I get a good opp[y]. I fancy he will soon want it as he writes me Tobacco rises fast—he has been obliged to get up as high as some five *Crojis*, driven to it by Pleasants who is buying all the good he can lay his hands on at that price, for the Tory quakers in your Town.

I wish Congress may remove back with all my heart for I am most horridly vex'd with this Place, indeed I had like to have been with Philad[a]; nothing but the little circle of acquaintance I had there prevented it, but this tryal of Baltimore will make me (if possible) set a much greater value on them, but on the Town most certainly however I am told the Yankeys are against it, if so we *go not*, they Rule as abso-

lutely as the Grand Turk *dos* in his own Dominions. I could give you an instance of it, but it must not be committed to paper.

The arms were order'd to the head of Elk for two reasons, one that they might be in a place of safety, the other that the Virg[a] Regiments might be sure of good arms, they are to leave their own behind them and expect to be furnish'd at that Place, and I know they had rather carry them with them and appear in Character, than go like nobody knows who, however if they get them I am content, but I doubt their doing it as I see Tavers has delivered them all to the Council of Safety. I think it well if the life of our worthy General is preserved, but I tremble for him; every officer complains of his exposing himself too much. Your letter to the President w[h] came to hand yesterday relieved us from great anxiety, there were such number P—— and R—— Lies circulated that we knew not what to think, particularly as we had not a word from you. We are now in high spirits waiting for a Confirmation of what you write, with glorious additions, but know, my dear sir, I have my moments of fear; dispell them quickly I beg of you. I never was better pleased than to find your people turning out as they do do. I wish a little spark could be sent here—all is either confusion or languor, it may be worse—the Colony has never yet been represented—How could the man I lov'd and Respected turn Rascal? I knew his principles of Politics were not quite right, but I expected his Objections would be sooner done away and that he would be again restored to us, but alas! I have been totally mistaken in him, he was ever *mark'd*, you know I must mean A A.

O that *if* of yours, *if* we are but Honest in Publick Councils, &c. look at the Paragraph mark'd thus × and find it answered.

I most sincerely thank you for your kind wishes to see me again at the Hills. I generally appropriate some moments on Sunday to that Place, let me be

where I will; but in this infernal sink, I scarcely think of any thing else. There is not even a Tavern that we can ride to for exercise or amusement within 15 miles of the place, I mean such as Gent[n] can dine in with comfort.

My compliments to Walton. I have received his two favors and would write to him, but really have nothing to say that can either give him pleasure or amusement. I have a wish that his Country was represented, but alas it is not. You may as soon change the Devil into an Angel of Light as a C——t man into anything else; he should not if I could help it stay where he is, if he could be of service here but as he cannot I leave him to assist you and to Toy away a Leisure hour now and then with his Fille de Joy.

I am much oblig'd to my friend Mease for the sugar and for getting the Chairs. How we shall get them I know not, without he can prevail on his *Good Friend Jonathan Mifflin* to take them on board one of his shallops. I am, D[r] Sir, Your affect Hble. Serv[t],

BENJ. HARRISON.

P. S. Ben seems to wish himself clear of his place, will his resigning be any prejudice to his commission business? if not I shall approve of his doing it, he will be able to attend the latter more closely. Two troops of Horse are come in from Virg[a] they will move on briskly tomorrow—the whole will be with you by Wednesday—Order stables for them—they want a great number of Carbines.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

9 January, at head quarters, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry not to be able to give you the intelligence you want about the gentleman who came pri-

vately to this Country—his name is entirely unknown to me, and I did not hear of such a name from any French officer in the army. I dare that if he was arrivd I would have got some intelligence of his being among us or by himself because great many Gentlemen whom I was not acquainted with wrote me when they heard that I was here, or by some of the officers of my nation who are in or about this army—j know very well the duke de *luines* . . . . de camp General of all the dragoons; but I am certain he did not mind to come hear and he has but a girl. I do not know any brother or cousin of his, and his name will finish with him—if somebody of his relations had been to this Country certainly the duke de luines schould have wrote me—even the ortograph is not the same thing, and that name is the only one I know of which can answer to what doctor Franklin wraits about him; however j'l ask to every french gentleman I shall meet if they know the name of *luigné* and I'l send you every intelligence I can about this matter.

I took the liberty of asking you a sum of money some days ago—but I do not want so much presently, and if you are so good as to send me only two hundred dollars out of what I have begged from you to pay to the bearer of my first letter (thirty seven pounds I believe) I shall be under great obligation to you. I hope too that you will be indulgent enough as to pardon me the liberty which I take of troubling you so about my business.

if General Howe gives to us a good chance of beating him certainly we must not lose it, but if he stays at home, if in all it would be imprudent to meet him, with his actual forces against ours, then, my dear Sir, we must be quiete and try to have an army before having any fight. I am sorry my contience obliges me to have an opinion which is so much against my inclination—but what I look upon as to be the advantage of our cause shall always go before any interested ideas for my own reputation and pleasure. As I came

here to fight, fighting is the most pleasant occupation I can wish, and I shall be the happiest of men when I shall believe it can be attended with any advantage for america, but sir we have at our head a great judge, a man whom America and principally the army is to have a confidence as extended as the love he derives from them, and when he will think proper to fight, then I shall believe alwais that we have good reason for it.

be so good, sir, as to send the enclosed letter to Colonel Armand. I shall be alwais sorry to see him far from us, and I should be very happy if we had again the pleasure of saluting him in camp.

with the greatest regard and affection I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

THE M^RQUIS DE LA FAYETTE

To the Honorable Robert Morris Member of Congress, at or near Manheim.

FROM JOHN HANCOCK.

Baltimore, January 14th, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your friendly and obliging private letter of the 8th inst reach'd me yesterday. I thank you for your kind notice of me and mine amidst the multiplicity of Business which must momently engage your attention — the marks of regard you are pleased to mention as contained in the few hasty lines I sent you are very far short of what I early expressed after I had the pleasure of a connection with you; and be assur'd, Sir, in whatever scituation I may hereafter be, or however distant from you it will be a pleasurable circumstance to continue and keep up a correspondence, not only in the Commercial and publick line, but in a solid friendly and free intercourse of Letters, and without

hesitation I shall tell you that hereafter I shall take the Liberty of a friend and use all Freedom in addressing you as business will admit, and shall be ambitious of being reckoned among the List of your Real Friends.

I accordingly approve your conduct with respect to the ships in your river and think your officers discovered the spirit of men. At same time your interference under the then circumstances was absolutely necessary; I dare say your disposition of the several arm'd vessels after you are fully convinced of the Removal of the Ships from your Capes, will fully meet the approbation of Congress. Without the least appearance of Flattery I can assure you your whole conduct since our Flight is highly approved, & happy I am that you Remain'd; many agreeable consequences have resulted from it, and your continu'd exertions will be productive of great good, I must therefore beg you will continue as long as you can tho' I sincerely wish you a happy sight of good Mrs Morris, but I fear your departure from Philad[a] might occasion relaxation that would be prejudicial. I know however you will put things in a proper way, indeed all depends on you, and you have my hearty thanks for your unremitting Labours, the Publick are much indebted to you, and I hope to see the day when those publick acknowledgments shall be made you.

I constantly send you and the Com[e] the Resolutions of Congress, a copy at same . . . to the General, that you need not take the trouble to Copy any, as you may depend regular Copies are forwarded and to every Departure.

I have got to House keeping, but really my Friend in a very poor house, & but just Furniture enough to live tolerably decent, tho' when I tell you I give £25 this Currency Phil[a] you would judge it to be amply furnished. I have only two rooms below and one of them I am obliged to let my servants occupy, in point of convenience I wish to return to Philad[a] which brings

me to the hint in your letter. I think, Sir, that as the Printing presses are here and fit to work and as money is so exceedingly wanted, and a Removal just at this time would occasion so great delay that it would not be prudent to think (unless thro' the greatest necessity) of a removal at present, nor untill the last of March—by that time I hope we shall be able to return or to fix upon some other place for our Residence, that must depend on circumstances. As things have turn'd out I am very sorry we remov'd at all, and indeed I think we were full hasty enough, it damp'd people much, but your continuance there and Conducting business there will give a Spring, and join'd to the influence of our successes will make up for the Flight of Congress.

I am much obliged to you for your kind notice of my family connections. I assure you, my friend, under their then scituation I left Philad[a] with a heavy heart, but by the kind hand of Providence we arrived safe at this place, and I must make myself as happy as I can, tho' very inconveniently scituated.

We have not yet had a Representation from New York, Delaware or Maryland, the latter is rather strange. The news from Congress you have in the Resolves which I have and shall constantly forward you. Money is signing with all possible, tho' we want some from Philad[a] signers who would expedite the business. Marine matters we have little . . . in, nor Books nor papers. The Lexington . . . down & will soon be ready for the sea . . . Marine Cor . . . is now . . . only . . . he shall determine about Nicholson & the Lexington and you shall know in my next. I am so often call'd upon and obliged to attend to all kinds of Business, that I have hardly time to write any Friend. I long to see you here, and yet you must stay at Philad[a]. I have some of your own wine left for you. I wish to have one sit down with you in my poor habitation. I know no one more welcome—I must bid you adieu—Business calls.

Mrs Hancock, Miss Frances & my little girls are well. I wish M^rs^ Morris was in the Town. I hope if you come to Bush, you will bring her and pay a short visit here, it must be so. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Clymer & M^r^ Walton, and believe me to be with every sentiment that respect and Esteem can Inspire, My dear Sir, Your very obed^t^ Serv^t^,

JOHN HANCOCK.

Coll. Harrison & M^r^ Hooper are sick—the latter with a fever.

To the Hon. Robert Morris, Esq, Philadelphia.

FROM WILLIAM HOOPER.

Baltimore, February 1, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR,

It was with singular pleasure I read your two last friendly letters. And long before I had gratefully acknowledged the receipt of them, if I had not met an insuperable obstacle in a fever which at this moment locks me up in my chamber. After an illness of several days an Impatience to be in Congress drew me out in a very wet day, the consequences were what any man in his senses might have expected—a Relapse, & had I not been fortunate in a physician, I perhaps had been measuring my length and breadth under ground —a situation bad enough indeed, but bad as it is surely preferable to being *above* it for any term in this worst of all possible places. I am now recovering & God willing propose moving Southward in a few days. Nelson by advice of a Physician goes tomorrow. He is in a bad state of health. Harrison is still ill and unless he is more attentive to exercise & Regimen I fear the consequences will be serious. With one united voice we ascribe this catalogue of Ills to this place—I

declare to you the Congress presents such a scene of yellow death like faces, that you would imagine Rhadamanthus had shifted his quarters and was holding Court in Baltimore. I believe were it the case he would soon be glad to get back to his friend Pluto's Regions. I have eased my stomach—when Fancy is exhausted in blackness of description—when you are disposed to abuse my Carolina, span every figure of Rhetoric & compare it to *Baltimore.*

I congratulate you upon the new face which our affairs have assumed in the Jersies, under every difficulty that a military genius could possibly have to struggle with, General Washington sometimes almost without an army, at best with one composed of raw undisciplined Troops, impatient of command & vastly inferior in numbers to the enemy's, has been able to check a victorious army, with everything that could afford a probability of success, thundering at the gates of the Capital of America, to change their course & is now pursuing them in turn to the only spot which they have possession of in America—Will Posterity believe the tale? When it shall be consistent with policy to give the history of that man from his first introduction into our service, how often America has been rescued from ruin by the mere strength of his Genius, conduct, and courage, incountering every obstacle that want of money, men, arms, ammunition, could throw in his way; an Impartial world will say with you that he is the Greatest man on Earth. Misfortunes are the Element in which he shines. They are the ground work on which his picture appears to the greatest advantage. He rises superior to them all, they serve as foils to his fortitude and as stimulants to bring into view those great qualities which in the serenity of life his great modesty keeps concealed. I could fill the side in his praise, but any thing I can say cannot equal his merits or raise your Idea of them.

I lament, my dear sir, the very small representation which America presents in Congress; the Members will

soon be reduced to the number of 22. How unequal to the importance of its councils! I am sorry to say that I think they already savour of the truth of an Observation contrasted to that in Holy Writ. That in the Multitude of Counsillors there is wisdom. Some of the Middle and Southern Colonies have much to answer for in their want of representation. It is a crime however which carries its own punishment with it and if there are two Interests in America that must necessarily prevail which always has its advocates on the spot to promote it, while the other is deserted by those whom every tie of honour, Duty & publick virtue should induce to a different conduct. New York, Delaware, Maryland may almost as well desert the Cause as so lamely support it by this appearance in its publick Councils. I have the next delegation of your State much at heart, and should be very sorry that any change should take place to the exclusion of Wilson. He is a character somewhat particular, but after a long and pretty intimate acquaintance with him, I am extremely deceived, if pure integrity and love to America, a just and generous attachment to the state which he represents, a strong natural capacity improved by extensive reading, a very retentive memory when cool judgment has matured and digested what he has read, are not the genuine Characteristics of my friend Wilson. His removal from Congress in my opinion would work an essential political Evil—Ross has I think acted unexceptionally, now and then he takes a whimsical turn, perhaps a wrong one, but to do him justice he does not persist in it. He is too much of a *Character* not to be eccentric. He is a sincere friend to the cause & I think is Independent in his notions—Pardon this internal local policy. I have the publick good in view which must prove my apology.

I am much pleased with our success again the foraging party & the more so from General Dickinson having had the command. He has laid up a fund of Reputation as a patriot and an officer which

will be sufficient not only for himself for life but upon which his Brother the Farmer may make draughts to repair that loss of Credit into which a constitutional weakness of nerves has betrayed him & in which I sincerely believe his heart had no share. What is the Policy of quartering soldiers on the inhabitants of your city? Was not this one of the great evils which the Bill of Rights was intended to remedy in the Executive powers of the British Constitution? Was it not a grievance that we clamoured loudly against when subject to G. B.? I wish it may not lead to reflections injurious to our Cause & give disaffected men reason to complain who have hitherto growled without it, and have in vain wrecked their intentions to sully our glorious cause and call forth the censure of the world upon those who support it. I would not wish want- only to sport with men's feelings. There will be a time & I hope it is not at a great distance when the distinction of Whig & Tory will be lost & resolve itself into the common appellation of *Citizens of the Indep^t States.* All political grudges will die away & harmony & happiness cement the whole. I wish that no wound may be made among ourselves that time & common interest may not at last heal. In so great a convulsion sacrifices must be made but it has been the policy of every wise Legislator to found the changes of Government in lenity & forbearance. I have been led to this out of the way speculation from having heard that your Council of Safety had barracked soldiers upon your citizens & trusted the execution of it to Melchor. I know your feelings will help me to an excuse for this trespassing again upon Internal policy. I wish some expedient could be fallen upon to put our monied matters in a proper train—the demands upon us at present are immense & must continue so like beginners in everything else we want Oeconomy or rather want system. Unless officers are appointed competent to the management of our funds, we must be ruined, from a false parsimony: in saving hundreds

in salaries of proper officers, we are sporting away millions in the want of them. I wish the loan office may succeed at 4 p Cent. the Southern Colonies will not consent to raise it, they consider the Eastern Government as in possession of almost all the continental Currency and the rise to 5 as only a prelude to a higher demand and that in proportion to our necessities. But I have already trespassed too far upon your Patience & proved to you perhaps that my Head has had its share of my fever. I will trouble you no further than to say I shall be happy to hear from you while I am in Carolina, & to assure you on paper which I hoped to have done in person before I left this part of the Continent that Absent or Present, I am and shall ever remain Yours with the truest affection

Wm. Hooper.

From John Hancock.

Baltimore, Febry 18, 1777.

My dear Sir,

I send M^r^ Tailor, my Secr^y^, to Philad^a^ to procure a suitable house well furnish'd for me, and I have taken the liberty to desire him to apply to you for y^r^ advice in this instance, not doubting your good offices. Congress will adjourn on Tuesday next to that day week then to meet in Philad^a^ and I hope on Saturday or Sunday week to take you by the hand; my friend, it will give me pleasure to see you, & I hope our coming there will in some degree Relieve you from the great Burden that has laid upon you. No money, constant application for it, & a steady succession of Business to attend to has made your scituation hard indeed, however you gave up all pro bono publico & I know you will persevere—you are as well calculated to go through Business as any gentleman I know, that I believe you bear up under it as well as any Gent^n^ could. Pray do hurry on the waggons I wrote you for this mor^g^. I

cannot move without them, nor can Thompson—four will be enough—do let them be good and well cover'd, with good horses and drivers. Can I be of any service to M^rs^ Morris on the Road? Command me if I can. I am almost hurried out of my life, but I will bear up. Complim^ts^ to M^r^ Tailor, Gen^l^ Mease, M^r^ Nesbit, M^r^ Beach & all enquiring friends. I hope soon to join you at the Oyster Club. Adieu & believe me, Yours Sincerely,

JOHN HANCOCK.

A number of friends Purviance, Lux, Peters &c &c. dine with me tomorrow, when we shall not be unmindful of our Philad^a^ friends.

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN.

Headquarters, Morristown, 24^th^ Febry, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

After sealing the inclosed please to deliver it with such Admonitions as you may think necessary. I dare say the impropriety of the publication strikes you.

The enemy came out yesterday from Amboy in a manner so much more formidable than usual that we expected a general attack, but our advanced parties gave them so warm a reception that they made a Retreat and reached their quarters about sunset. The whole day was spent in skirmishing. Seven prisoners are already sent in, and there may be more for they were attacked Front, flank and Rear. The Country people tell us they carried off several waggons with dead and wounded. Our loss one killed and five wounded. The enemy had 2000 men and 6 pieces of artillery. I often think of that remarkable wish in Henry 5^th^:

> . . . "Oh that we now had here
> But one ten thousand of those men . . .
> That do no work to-day!"

I would engage the General would send you an Easter present superior to the Christmas or New Years.

Major Bland, who saw me writing to Bradford, wrote an off hand answer to old Sampson—If you think it will do, it may be published.

I am, dear sir, your most affectionate h^ble^ serv^t^,

TENCH TILGHMAN

To Robert Morris, Esq. at Philadelphia.

FROM JOHN HANCOCK.

Baltimore, Febry. 26^th^ 1777.

DEAR SIR,

In consequence of yours by Express respecting the State of our Army & the Reinforcement of Howe's army at Brunswick, & y^r^ opinion that at present it would not be prudent for Congress to return to Philad^a^ the Congress have determin'd to suspend their Remove for some days, at least until we hear from you, which I hope will be soon and that the way is clear for us to pursue our own course. We must give these fellows a trimming, if we can but subdue the present force in the Jerseys, I think the day is ours, one noble exertion by a large body flying to the support of the General with a determination to oppose Howe's army at all events would effect the business and before any Reinforcemen^ts^ could arrive from Europe we should be in such readiness as soon to give good account of them, tho' I believe they will soon be tir'd of their Game; we have got the Trumps, let us play the game well. I refer you to my letter to the General, & the resolves of Congress therein. I have left the letter open for your perusal, after which please to seal & forward to the Gen^l^ by a special Express, as also the one to Gov^r^ Livingston

& the Convention of New York, all to go by express. please also to send the letter inclosed to your Council of Safety. I am almost hurried to death, but must Keep at it. however I know you will excuse me in not adding as I am really pinch'd for time send us good news, & let us go on to Philad[a] & Dispatch what Business we have on hand that I may have leave to return to Boston the last week in April.

God bless you, and believe me, D[r] S[r], Yours affection[y],

JOHN HANCOCK

Hon M[r] Morris

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN.

Headquarters, Morristown, 2[d] March, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

The late determinations of Congress to refuse the proposed conference with General Lee and to confine the Hussar Field officers and Col[l] Campbell *strictly*, because Gen[l] Howe will not agree to their exchange of General Lee, have embarrassed his Exellency not a little, and will in my opinion, in their consequences be attended with much public disadvantage—I should not have given you my sentiments on these subjects thus freely and confidentially, but I know I can say more to you than the General would wish to say to Congress, least they should construe a freedom of Expression into an abuse and ill use of those extensive powers with which they have lately vested him. If my sentiments and reasons should happily coincide with yours upon this occasion, I hope the influence which you possess in the House, may enable you to obtain such an alteration in the measures alluded to as may be of more advantage to Gen[l] Lee, whom they are principally intended to serve, and of more essential good to the public.

It is true Gen[l] Lee's letters are so mysterious that it is impossible to form any conjecture of what was to be expected from the Conference. But take it in a personal light and surely it was hard to refuse him an interview with two of his friends to whom he might have something to communicate, which in his present scituation could not possibly be conveyed by Letter— If the Conference was intended to communicate anything of a public nature as some parts of Gen[l] Lee's letter seem to hint, some useful information might have been received and no public ill could have accrued, for as these gentlemen would have only gone to hear not to negotiate, it would not have been in their power, if so inclined, to have given up one Inch of the dignity of Congress, or the least particle of the liberties of their Country. Indeed Members of Congress were not absolutely necessary, and any indifferent gentlemen might have been appointed. But Sir, I fear an evil will result from the refusal of the Conference, much greater than any I have yet mentioned. You very well know that the disaffected in the province Pennsylvania chiefly, have ever held up an argument to the People that had not Congress from the beginning shewn a greater disposition for war than peace, matters had never gone to the length they have. And you may also remember what an amazing Influence these doctrines had untill a deputation of Congress met Lord and Gen[l] Howe upon Staten Island and obliged them to confess, in a manner, that they had no powers beyond those expressed in the Act of Parliament. From that time to this, they have been pretty silent, or at least have made impressions but upon weak minds. Now another opportunity offers for them to assert again that Gen[l] Lee's letter coming thro' Gen[l] Howe can be construed into nothing more than an overture for an accommodation. And as the letter as I said before, is very mysterious, every man will comment upon it as it suits his views and principles, I shall just mention

one Reason more before I conclude the subject of the Conference. Gen[l] Lee's influence is very extensive in our army, and if he should be sent home or any indignity offered to his person, his Friends will directly say, that had his proposition been acceded to matters might have gone otherwise, and he might have chalked out some plan whereby he might have regained his Liberty. They will also say that a man of General Lee's known attachment to the Cause would never have made a proposition injurious to the dignity or liberty of this Country and therefore would never have demanded the Conference, had he not expected the most salutary effects from it.

I will now enter upon the right that General Howe undoubtedly had to refuse the proposed Exchange of six Field Officers for Gen[l] Lee, and of the impolicy of inflicting Severities upon these Gentlemen in consequence of such refusal.

By the terms of the Cartel settled between Gen[l] Washington and Gen[l] Howe, officers are only to be exchanged for officers of equal rank; there is no provision made, nor no obligation on either General to accept any number of inferior officers for one of superior station. Upon this principle alone Gen[l] Howe stands justifiable upon the refusal. Had we had an officer of equal rank with Gen[l] Lee in our possession and Gen[l] Howe had refused to make the exchange the matter would have been very different we might with justice have complained, and with justice also have confined this officer exactly in the same manner in which they have confined Gen[l] Lee, but no farther. Was Gen[l] Lee the only officer of ours in the hands of the enemy we might threaten Retaliation with some hopes of good effects resulting from it, but the Congress seem to have forgot that they have upwards of three hundred of our officers in confinement and out upon parole (subject as men of honor to obey a recall) upon whom they may inflict the same severities that we can exercise only upon the Hessians taken at Tren-

ton and a few others. Whether it is the best policy to cultivate or alienate the affections of the Germans just at this time I leave you to determine. I will only observe that the Enemy fearful of their being in a wavering state, have of late been making use of every artifice to set them against us as I mentioned to you in my letter respecting the impropriety of Bradford's publication. Our field officers who have been long prisoners I dare say thought the preference given to Gen[l] Lee rather injurious to them as had the exchange been, accepted, it would probably have been a long time before the Fortune of war would have thrown an equal number of the same Rank into our hands. But now that Gen[l] Howe has waved the matter, they undoubtedly expect to reap the advantages resulting from the capture of our Enemies those of effecting their deliverance, General Howe has lately called upon General Washington to comply with the terms of the Cartel settled between them and to send in those very Officers who are now ordered into close confinement by the Resolve of Congress. In consequence of a resolve passed in January Col[l] Campbell had been thrown into Concord Goal and confined in a manner (if you may credit his letter copy of which the General sends to Congress) which would be thought rigorous upon the most atrocious criminal. General Howe has heard of this and yesterday sent out a flag inveighing against such a proceeding. Gen[l] Washington has wrote to Boston to have Col[l] Campbell's confinement mitigated, but this is all he can do till Congress see fit to take off the present restriction. Suppose General Howe taking Example from us should not only put all the officers that he at present has in possession into close confinement, but should call for those upon Parole to return and share the same fate. Would they or would they not tax Congress with having taken a step (which might have been avoided) that was the Cause of their Misfortunes.

It has been a constant maxim with our Enemies to

endeavour to impress all our officers with the highest Ideas of their generosity and justice and of our want of attention to the concerns of our prisoners among them by neglecting to make an exchange as far as we have it in our power—And I fear if there is no relaxation in the measures which are the subjects of this letter that they will have too good a plea to found their arguments upon. I scarcely know an officer who has been permitted to come out upon his parole, but has confessed that he felt a degree of gratitude for his deliverers, that has almost overcome his patriotism, at least so far as to taking up arms again. One gentleman of our acquaintance has been I believe induced to lay his Commission down, by what to be sure look'd very like an act of gratitude, but what I always thought a stroke of policy. I dont know that the gentleman has really laid down his Commission as yet, but from his conduct I imagine he intends it.

People who have been long in captivity grow dispirited and when they think that their friends do not make use of the means which they have in their power to procure their enlargement they are apt to close with any offers of the enemy whereby they may be enabled to return to their families and Connexions. I know that the scale has been so much against us that we cannot procure the release of all, but ought to do as much towards it as we possibly can.

I have thus, Sir, taken the liberty of troubling you with a number of crude undigested hints, I will not call them arguments, that occurred to me upon my thoughts on this subject, and were suggested by the gentlemen of his Exellency's family in the course of conversation upon these matters.

I am certain we must oppose our enemies as much by policy as by arms—if they conquer us in the former, the latter will be of small avail. Fully convinced of this truth I have been thus full and I fear tedious, but if your patience will hold out perhaps some things may strike you which you may improve to advantage

and make use of for the purposes for which they were meant. Justice due to individuals, and the good of my Country and the Cause in which I am most firmly and sincerely engaged.

I can with the same sincerity assure you that I have the most perfect esteem for your personal virtues, and that I am y^r^ most affec^t^ h^ble^ Serv^t^

TENCH TILGHMAN.

To the Hon. Robert Morris, Esq. Philadelphia.

FROM WILLIAM HOOPER.

Cape Fear, 27 May, 1777.

Yes! My dear Sir, thus long and faithful publick services are required. Hewes has lost his election, the charge against him was too futile to be repeated except to be despised—"That he was employed loading vessels for the Secret Committee and receiving commissions as a merchant when he ought to have been at Congress as a delegate, tho' by the by an excruciating fit of the Rheumatism incapacitated him for the . . . . & as you well know it was in obedience to the earnest requisition of the Secret Committee by you their Representative that he was employed on this very necessary business. It was lucky that Hewes had not begun his journey or his removal might have been announced to him on the road or in the exercise of his delegatorial function in Congress. I wish our Assembly may be convinced of their error. I imagine that such a certificate in M^r^ Hewes's favour as you could draw subscribed by all the members who served with him and know his integrity and usefulness would have an effect which as his friend I wish to promote. Should this be your opinion when you have effected it forward it to me. I was again appointed a delegate, the situation of my own private affairs, the importunity

of my wife and little ones, that delicacy which I felt as a friend did not leave me a moment in suspense whether I should decline the honour intended me, & to you who feel the full force of conjugal and paternal affection, and are all alive to the wrongs done your friends sure I am I stand justified. As it deprives me of your agreeably society and that of others it has its melancholy reflections, but as it furnishes me with a consciousness of having done my duty, I endeavour to suppress them and look forward to a future opportunity when I may be restored to you without violating the respect which I owe to my family and connections.

We hear nothing from Congress and are kept in profound ignorance of the state and movements of our army, the people here are dissatisfied with this reserve and loudly speak forth their complaints. Our tories are ever ready to rouze or fan their suspicions & the charitable construction they bestow upon your secrecy is that you are doing nothing or engaged about what you dare not disclose. These infernal villains slily insinuate that the Congress attention is chiefly exercised to devise ways and means to continue in office or to amass money, & that they consider the constituents only as they are to contribute to support the expenses, that the battle against England is a blind merely to conceal their true intentions. This game has been too long played in this state with impunity. We have not been fleshed in executions but we have now a treason which I wish may prevent, if it does not, by Heavens it must punish. However I wish the Journals of Congress were published from day to day & compleat copies diffused thro' the several states, this would calm the suspicions of the credulous & ignorant & make the mischievous intentions of our enemies prove abortive. The Condition of our Army should be frequently announced, altho' nothing material may happen, yet it will give the lie to the various reports we have of battles fought & successes obtained which are furnished us by every travelling vagrant or de-

serter who makes his way hither from the Northward. These Gentlemen who are generally flying from martial punishment as deserters or from the civil Justice of the Country as tories bring their prejudices with them, and for one prosperous event that they ascribe to our army their lively imaginations give a dozen to Gen[l] Howe. We have a regular lie of the day as well as our betters, & if I had not determined myself to a state of stoick incredulity, I should break my heart with the reports of miscarriages by sea and land. As a quondam brother, I pretend to profound sagacity & pronounce everything a lie tho' sworn to, if it is not in our favour. If you could imagine how I thirst for a true state of our publick affairs, you would steal some moments from business to gratify me.

Is Stockton the delegate in jail? Is the Congress Frigate taken? Has General Washington but 7000 men? We make a blessed hand of recruiting here; of 9 Regiments we can bring scarce 2000 men in the field, the havock which the sickness which pervaded the southern states last year made amongst them & that horrid expedition which was undertaken against Augustine at the most inclement season, thinned the army of our best men & has discouraged others from enlisting.

Every soldier has a little sphere of influence within which he moves, and as far as it extends he discriminates his prejudice & paints his wrongs & his sufferings. His friends have theirs and thus a disgust to the service is promoted & now almost universally diffused in this state. The impolicy of high bounties given by our neighbors has driven us to the imitation of them. This has served no purpose but to depreciate our money, and raise the ideal importance to those who are fit for soldiers. I thought long ago that Patriotism in the ranks of an army was mere cant; but am now sorry to find that the absence of it has not been supplied by its usual successor avarice. It is needless to say that the depreciation of money occasions this backwardness, it is a fact that we depreciate money

by extravagant bounties & increase the evil by our attempts to remedy it. The mines of Potosi are not equal to our present mode of conducting the war & the weakest minds amongst us begin to reason upon the possibility of our making good our engagements. To the enormous bounty given by the Continent, this state has added 10 dollars and 150 acres of land. We have been driven to it from the practice of other States—those who first set the example have much to attone for.

The Merlin and Bruin men of War came over Cape Fear Bay the other day & burnt several outward bound vessels. We are totally defenceless here from the want of a few great Guns and a small Fort, and shall furnish a glorious harbor for the enemy to refresh themselves and annoy the Southern States. Do exchange a little conversation with Mr Hamit [Harnett] on this subject. He is a judicious man, and a sensible agreeable companion. He has acquired a fortune and is somewhat conversant with trade. He will be useful on some of your Mercantile committees. I beg your notice of him. He has a high opinion of our friend S. Adams and my Countrymen in general having been formerly acquainted in Boston.

I hope this will find you quietly settled with your family at Philadelphia & that M^rs^ Morris will not again have occasion to expose herself & little ones to the fatigues of a flight. I sincerely felt for them the inconveniences which they suffered and your anxiety from the separation. I beg my most respectful compliments to your lady and am, Dear Sir, With great respect, Your friend & most obed^t^ Serv^t^,

WILL. HOOPER.

This is the 27^th^ of May, and at Cape Fear, in the latitude of 34, I am now writing before a large fire. Such a season was never known here. I dread the effects it will have on our crops.

Robert Morris, Esq.

From John Hancock.

York, 5th Oct^{r}, 1777.

Dear Sir,

The Business allotted me by Congress after sitting till 9 o'clock last evening prevents me the honour and pleasure of waiting on you agreeable to your kind invitation and my wish. I have expresses going to Gen^{l} Gates, Gen^{l} Putnam and to Head Quarters: which makes me very busy.

The Inclos'd Letters for you and Col^{l} Harrison I have just rec'd & judging it would be agreeable to you both to have them soon, I therefore dispatch one of my Expresses with them. I have not a word of news to communicate. No Letters since you left us —Nor have we any reports to-day.

My good Friend, I should esteem it a very particular fav^{r} if you could without prejudicing your own stock, spare me a little Madeira, if it was only three dozen. I care not for price, for I feel awkward not to have it in my power to ask a friend to take a Glass— If you can oblige me I will send my light waggon— My best respects to M^{rs} Morris. Respects to my friend Col^{l} Harrison & believe me very truly, Yours sincerely,

John Hancock.

Hon^{ble} Robert Morris.

From John Hancock.

York Town, 25th Oct^{r}, 1777.

M^{r} Hancock presents his most sincere Regards to his friend M^{r} Morris, sends him the Ballance of his Acco. & must beg his excuse that he has neglected it so long.

M^{r} H. observing that M^{r} Morris frequently walks

with a cane takes the freedom to send him a gold Head for a cane of which he Requests Mr Morris's acceptance as a small token of his real regard and friendship for him.

Saturday Morng, 25 Octr 1777.

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN.

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, 29 Nov., 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with yours of the 22nd with a packet of letters for the Wives and Friends of the Quakers who are at Winchester—those letters and that for Mr Willing shall be forwarded by the first flag. You may depend upon it that no means will be left untried to destroy not only our public credit but that of every man who upholds our Cause. I wish the prospect about going into Philada was as near as you expected when you wrote. Upon the Arrival of the Troops from the Northward we reconnoitred the Enemy's works very accurately but found them so amazingly strong that it would have been sacrificing our army to have attempted them. We must turn our attention to a general blockade and if Genl Howe comes out for necessaries we must make him pay dear for his marketing. I had a view of your Country seat a few days ago from the west side of Schuylkill. The soil is not destroyed but in every other respect it is in a state of Nature—But you have only neighbour Tare, every House from Mr Dickensons to yours is either burnt or what is as bad pulled all to pieces. Mr Penn's at Peel Hall is not spared. A good deal of Quaker property has shared the fate of the best Whig. This is a kind of proceeding that was not expected from friend Howe.

Poor Sam Howell after being imprisoned and

. . . to death is suffered to return to his country House. He says never were people (a few busy . . . excepted) so heartily tired of their guests.

If matters take the turn that they seem like to do in Europe we shall triumph ere long over all our enemies and enjoy peace and liberty in proportion to the pains we have taken to attain them.

Make my most respectful Compliments to Mrs Morris and believe me, Dear Sir, Affecty Yours,

TENCH TILGHMAN

To Robert Morris, Esq. of Congress, York Town.

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN.

Head Quarters, 2nd Febry., 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that your private concerns should oblige you to attend to them at a time when in my opinion the assistance of men of abilities actuated solely by patriotic principles was never more wanted. You very well know the difficulties and hardships the officers of the army have gone thro' and how much of their private fortunes every man must have expended who did not make use of the scandalous alternative of defrauding the public. This has been owing to the scarcity of the necessaries of life and the depreciation of our money. The General mentioned his apprehensions to Mr Gerry and yourself of what would be the consequence provided the establishment of the army was not put upon such a footing that good officers could remain in it without injury nay totally ruining their private fortunes. No sooner had we sat down in winter quarters, than what was expected began to appear. The officers having gone thro' the fatigues and dangers of the Campaign, came in crowds to resign their commissions

urging almost universally that their sole motive was the impossibility of subsisting upon the present establishment. Many could not be prevailed upon to remain in service upon any terms. Some were quieted by the indulgence of furloughs to go home and see into the situation of their families, and others were persuaded to stay untill they should see what would be the result of the conference between the deputation from Congress and his Excellency. I may venture to say that nothing but the hopes of an establishment's taking place that will enable the Officer to support his rank and at the same time help to support his family, can keep the army together.

The General has laid before the Gentlemen now here such an arrangement as will I believe if carried into execution make the service honorable and desirable. As far as they have gone they seem pleased with his plan and convinced of the expediency of carrying it into execution. It carried conviction with it, because it is founded upon the strictest principles of equity, and has not the least respect to any private emoluments as to himself. I do not understand that these Gentlemen have a commission to do anything final.

The plan before them therefore must be reported, debated and perhaps supported. At such a time I could wish you to be in Congress. Liberal yourself you can think and act liberally towards other people. But I have another and a more forcible reason which I will mention to you in confidence. Perhaps those regulations may meet with opposition from a certain quarter because they come from the General. You must have seen and heard something of a party forming against him. Publications under the signature of De Lisle point out plainly his successor, and the unaccountable behaviour of the late Q^{r} M^{r} G^{l} does not leave a doubt in my mind that he is at the bottom of it.

What are his inducements God only knows, but I am sure no man stood higher in the General's good opinion. Our enemies have already heard of and ex-

ult at this appearance of division and faction among ourselves; and the officers of the army who have been all of them at one time or another under his command are exasperated to the highest degree at a thought of displacing him. I have never seen any stroke of ill fortune affect the General in the manner that this dirty underhand dealing has done. It hurts him the more because he cannot take notice of it without publishing to the world that the spirit of faction begins to work among us. It therefore behoves his friends to support him against the malicious attacks of those who can have no reason to wish his removal but a desire to fill his place. Altho' your Business may not admit of your constant attendance upon Congress, I hope you will have an eye towards what is doing there. If the General's conduct is reprehensible let those who think so make the charge and call him to account publickly before that Body to whom he is amenable. But this method of calumniating behind the curtain ought to be held in detestation by all good men.

I cannot promise myself the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation to spend a few days at Manheim. Winter quarters is to us what a stoppage of Navigation used to be to you, rather an increase of business in the way of paper, pens and Ink.

Make my best compliments to M^rs^ Morris and be assured I am, Dear Sir, Sincerely and affect^y^ Yrs.,

TENCH TILGHMAN.

FROM GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

House of Commons, 5^th^ Febry, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have but a moment to write this letter before the Packet is closed. But our correspondence must now necessarily be short. A reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonys upon the Footing

of the most perfect freedom as fellow subjects is the object on earth I have most at Heart.

Tho' I am not in the secrets of Government here and have strongly opposed all those measures which Deem'd oppressive to America, and have constantly supported those claims against British taxation and the altering of the charters of Government by the mere authority of Parliament yet I have had a hint and have good reason to believe a proposition will be made to Parliament in four or five days by administration. That may be a ground of reunion. I really do not know the particulars, nevertheless as I have learned some Preliminarys of a Treaty have lately gone from France, I think it cannot be deemed unfriendly to either Country to give you notice of this intended Proposition that you may imprudence do nothing Hastily with foreign powers but wait a short time the issue. For I am conscious from your integrity and patriotism w^ch^ I have long admired that as nothing but necessity forced you to take up arms so nothing but necessity or honorable engagements will force you to adopt a final separation of Interests. I am, as always, Your sincere affectionate Friend,

GEO. JOHNSTONE.

Hon^ble^ Robert Morris, &^c^ &^c^ &^c^ Pensilvania.

Endorsed: "Opened at Head Quarters, April 15, 1778."

[FROM BENJAMIN HARRISON.]

Virg^a^, June 8^th^, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 26^th^ ultimo came to hand a few days ago—At the same time I rec^d^ the enclosed from my friend Deane who expected at the time of writing that it would find me in Congress; the contents of it

are so interesting to him that it is but justice they should be communicated to some of the Members of that Body, lest he may suffer more unmerited ill treatment, the characters he has drawn of the two Bro^{s} in my opinion are just ones. You who know them not can form but an imperfect idea of those on that side the water by what you have seen on this, they being much more designing, vindictive and overbearing; perhaps you may think this impossible but be assured it is a fact and that they are no more fit for the characters they bear than any man that can be thought on; however they are fixed and I suppose America must suffer them for a season longer, as the Cabal is at present too powerful to afford us the least prospect of their removal. Doct^{r} Franklin's letter (also enclosed) will in a manner prove that a change ought to take place; when an opp^{y} offers the welfare of America will loudly call on the virtuous in Congress to make the attempt—You will please to show these letters to my friend Banister and such others only as you can trust, & then return them by some safe hand to me.

I think your conjectures of the enemy's intentions of quitting Philad^{a} are highly probable as I can see nothing but their ruin, if they attempt to stay that is without reinforcements, if they should get them, it is not so certain, as there seems to be such a languor in the minds of the Common People from one end of the Continent to the other, that it will be impossible to rouse them to action—I speak with certainty as to this Country and from hearsay as to others. I need not tell you it will give me pleasure to find I have been misinform'd. The Assembly here have exerted themselves greatly, they have *voteded* a full regiment of horse under Nelson which may be raised if they can be accoutred; they have also call'd on two thousand of their countrymen to turn out for six months; and have fallen I think on a good method to fill up their Continental regiments, the bounties and other advantages in cloths

and necessaries offer'd, are almost ruinously great ; and yet I am led to think all this will not do and that very few men will be got ; Heaven you say has done much, it has so, but if it now stops, the work will I fear not be done ; I am not used to dispond and yet I cannot help gloomy thoughts when I view our Prospects. I am placed in a very honorable situation much against my will, as it was really my firm intention to retire from public business and apply myself wholly to my own, however thus honorably call'd on. I must divide my time between both in such a manner, that I hope neither will suffer greatly. You will before this reaches you have heard that our Bay is clear of men of war, they are gone it seems after the Fleet expected from France. I hope they will miss their aim, and that we shall have no more of their Company, in which case this Country will be in flourishing circumstances, for I plainly see the Continent must make much the greatest part of its remittances from the Southern States.

Penn gave me a hint of the evil intended you by a certain great man ; but that when he came away, it only appear'd by now and then an inuendo, and a promise of what he intended to do when you were present. If he ever makes his attack, I am sure it will end in his own confusion and prove him to be, what I from a very short acquaintance suspected he was, an empty, envious, conceited ———. I am, D^r^ Sir, Your affec^t^ and oblig'd H^ble^ Serv^t^

P. S. Perhaps the Congress may now want my Ship. I think she may be got out in the fall.

[Without signature or direction.]

From Gen. Anthony Wayne.

Fredericksburg, 5th Oct^{r}, 1778.

Dear Sir,

Your very polite favour of the 8th ultimo I have just Rec^{d}. I wish with you that it had been in your power to give full satisfaction to our poor worthy [soldiers] as to the article of Clothing—their distresses are great, but their is a *Distant* prospect of these distresses being aleviated in some degree, tho' not so amply nor so soon as the season and their wretched condition requires—shou'd the Enemy operate to the Eastward as from present circumstances they intend, we shall like Mahomet and the Mountain, go to the Clothing if the Clothing wont come to us.

The Honorable mention which his Exellency was pleased to make of me for my Conduct at the Action of Monmouth must be very flattering to a young soldier —altho' I am Conscious of not having done any more than my duty, for which I can claim no merit. When Gen^{l} Reed was at Camp, I believe the State of Penns^{a} was considered to have but two Brigades in the Field. I wish to put this matter in a fair point of view, exclusive of the two brigades with this army (which in point of health numbers and discipline are second to none on the ground) we have three hundred effective Rank and file under Col^{l} W^{m} Butler on the Mowhock River—five independant Companies at West Point on the Hudson's River—upwards of three hundred rank and file with Col^{l} Brodhead at Pittsburg & Col^{l} Hartley's regiment at Sunbury—which was totally raised in Pennsylvania and either is or ought to be adopted by the State—so that counting only upon two brigades is a manifest injury to the State—as the troops I have now mentioned would if together make a stronger *Effective* Brigade than any in the service. Add to this that all the troops we have in the field are enlisted during the war—whilst the troops of almost every other State

were only engaged for three years or drafts for eight Months, so that by the first of Jan^{y} we shall have more troops in the field engaged for three years or during the war than any other State in the whole confederacy, but not so many *General* Officers, having but one Brig^{r} for the three Brigades.

I must acknowledge that I am much pleased to find that Gen^{l} Hand was absolutely appointed for North Carolina—for he was to take a Command in the Penns^{a} Line. We should inevitably loose Col^{l} Irvine who was a senior Col^{l} to Hand.

Matters being thus situate, it is not an Injury to Penns^{a} not to have the benefit of its Proportion of Genl. Officers—which ought to be at least three Brigadiers. If the number of Continental Troops is the proper Criterion to determine by,—and is not also a prejudice to those officers who are entitled to promotion to be so long neglected.

If I am rightly instructed, there is a Resolve of Congress reserving to prisoners their Rank and promotion in the line as soon as Exchanged. If this is the case I doubt not but that Col^{l} Irvine's Merit, Capacity and Conduct as an Officer and a Gentleman will entitle him to that Rank which he would have held had he not been unfortunately made a Prisoner, he was a Senior Colonel to either De Wass or Hand.

I have dwelt the longer on this subject as I fear a resignation of too many of our best Officers at the end of the present Campaign—I am confident that if some of the principal officers lead the way, that the Contagion in our Line will be very general—having no other inducement for continuing in this army but Rank or love of Country, which will not afford them Bread at another day.

Indeed they seem desirous of catching at any pretext for Quiting a Service which has or soon will Reduce their little Patrimony whilst others are accumulating princely fortunes under their protecting arms, and probably will very shortly look down with Con-

tempt on those worthy fellows who have fought, bled and conquered for them.

For my own part I realy should have retired to my *Sabine field* long since, but for fear of the Ill consequences of such an example. When matters are in a more fixed state I hope I may then be permitted to Retire—without the Imputation of Want of Patriotism or Courage which period is most anxiously wished for by Your most Obed^{t} & very Hum. Serv^{t}

ANTY. WAYNE.

The Hon^{ble} Robert Morris, Esq, Member of Congress, Philadelphia.

FROM GEN. THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Reading, 26 January, 1779.

DEAR M^{R} MORRIS,

I do not remember to have been more surprised and provoked at any event than at the rascally & ill managed attack against your Character. The attention you have given to public business for the three last years and the commercial sacrifices you have made to your Country, I believed would have placed you out of the reach at least of the attempts of every censorious scoundrel. But I was deceived.

Payne, like the enthusiastic madman of the East was determined to run the *muck*—he sallied forth, stab'd three or four slightly, met with you, but missing his aim fell a victim to his own stroke; and by attempting too much will enjoy a most mortifying and general contempt. The friends of the Constitution have been very active in this Country and unless counteracted will gain their point. Every possible misrepresentation has been made against us. Industry is the Quality we must oppose to their tricks. A meeting of our friends in this Country is proposed at the Court in

Reading—As Mr Biddle will probably attend some good may be done then.

By the loss of my overseer I am obliged to take charge of my farm & stock which engage much of my time and will prevent my meeting you in Assembly next month. I have in vain endeavour'd to procure a person to relieve me and am therefore excusable for non-attendance. I request you to inform the house of my situation, and that I cannot leave my farm without possible disadvantage from ignorant and ill disposed servants. I beg my compliments to Mrs Morris, and hope your poor little son has got the better of his complaint. Your friend & Obt St

T. Mifflin

The Hon. Robert Morris, Esq. Philadelphia.

From John Paul Jones.

Amsterdam, Octr 13th, 1779.

As the History of my proceedings since I left the Ranger has not afforded much of the agreeable, I have in that time written very seldom to my much honored and esteemed friend Mr Morris. I last winter however had the honor to write you some letters whereof I forwarded various copies inclosing papers respecting the conduct of Lieutenant Simpson while under my command, and as they were addressed to you as President of various Committees of Congress, I rest perfectly satisfied that they have not been disregarded. I am now in the Chamber of our mutual friend Mr Ross who informs me that a vessell sails this day for Boston. I am exceedingly sorry that being at a distance from my papers I cannot inclose a Copy of the accounts which I have lately given of my proceedings to his Excellency Dr Franklin. I will forward copies as soon as

political reasons will admit of my returning to Texel, where I have the satisfaction to inform you that I arrived with the remains of my little Squadron on the 3rd instant, and brought on me with me two of the enemies ships of war, the Serapis of 44 guns and the Countess of Scarborough of 20 Guns.

I sailed from L'Orient on my late expedition on the 13th of August with the Bon Homme Richard an Old East India-Man of 40 Guns, the Alliance of 36 guns, the Pallas an armed Ship of 30 Guns, the Cerf, a Cutter of 18 Guns and the Vengeance an armed Brig of 12 Guns, Joined by the Monsieur and Grandville two French Privateers. Monseur de Chaumont who had something to say to my little armament made such wrong arrangements that both the privateers and the Cutter soon separated from me, I established my cruize for some time on the S. W. of Ireland and proposed to have remained there for some time longer had not the remonstrances of Captain Landais determined me otherwise and thereby lost me the opportunity of intercepting eight of the enemies East india Ships which entered the Port of Limrick three days after I left the Blaskets. I passed by the North of Scotland, took some prizes and was within the smallest trifle of laying Leith under a heavy contribution tho' I had then with me only the Bon H. Richard, the Pallas and the Vengeance.

We alarmed their coasts prodigiously from Cape Clear round to Hull; and had I not been concerned with sons of Interest I could have done much. On the 23d Septr of Flamboro' head the Baltic fleet appeared. The action between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis was dreadful. An hour from the Commencement I found that I had to deal with a far superior Force, and the Serapis being a much more manageable ship than the Bon Homme Richard I was under the necessity of closing with her. I found means to get the enemies bowsprit over the Bon Homme Richards quarter and immediately made him

fast to the Mizen mast—the Ships then swung alongside of one another, the Enemies Stern opposite to our Bow and the Yards being lock'd. In that situation the action continued two hours and a half both ships being on fire for the greatest part of the time and the Bon Homme Richard making as much water as all the pumps could discharge. At last the Alliance at last appeared, but not to our assistance, for instead of laying the enemy alongside or of assisting us with fresh men, he sailed round and fired into the Bon Homme Richard; even after every tongue had exclaimed that he fired into the wrong ship, and I had even hoisted a signal which *could not be mistaken*, he killed a number of our men and mortally wounded a good officer. At last the Enemy struck the English Flagg, but the victory was too dear. The mainmast of the Serapis fell overboard soon after the Captain had delivered me his sword, and the fire continued unextinguished on board the Bon Homme Richard for eight hours afterwards, having at last gained its way within a few inches of the Magazine. In short we found it impossible to preserve the good old ship and I endeavoured to do it so long that I had only time to save the sick and wounded. The Alliance contributed much to the loss of the Bon Homme Richard by hitting her between Wind and Water and under Water.

I am in hopes to be able to return immediately to the Continent, my ardent wishes impel me to seek after the means, that I may justify myself in all respects—*for I can* to America.

I have the honor to be with the highest esteem and respect, Dear Sir, Your very obliged Servant,

Jn° P. Jones.

N. B. The first copy of this letter was forwarded alone.

The Honorable Robert Morris.

From Benjamin Franklin.

Passy, June 3d, 1780.

Dear Sir,

I received your kind Letter of March 31 acquainting me with your having engaged in M. de la Frètes Affairs on my Recommendation. I thank you very much and beg you to be assured that any Recommendation of yours will be regarded by me with the greatest attention. The letter you inclosed to Mr. Dumas is forwarded to him. We are impatient to hear from America, no account of the operations Charlestown later than the 9th of March having yet come to hand. Every thing here in Europe continues to wear a new face. Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Holland are raising a strong Naval force to establish the free navigation for Neutral Ships, and of all their Cargoes tho' belonging to enemies, except contraband; that is military stores. France and Spain have approved of it, and it is likely to become henceforth the Law of Nations that *free ships make free goods*. England does not like this Confederacy. I wish they would extend it still further, and ordain that unarm'd Trading Ships as well as Fishermen and Tanners should be respected as working for the common benefit of Mankind, and never to be interrupted in their operations even by national Enemies: but let those only fight with one another whose Trade it is, and who are armed and paid for the purpose.

With great and sincere Esteem I am, ever, Dear Sir, Your most Obedient & most humble Servant,

B. Franklin

Robert Morris, Esq.

From John Paul Jones.

L'Orient, June 27, 1780.

Honored and dear Sir,

I have deferred writing to you since my return to this Kingdom because I had orders myself to return in the Alliance immediately to Philadelphia. I was under a necessity of going to Court in April to procure the free sale of the Serapis and our other prizes and was received by the Royal Family Government and People with that opened arm'd affection that so nobly marks the character of this generous minded nation. His Majesty ordered a superb sword to be made for me with an inscription in Latin on the blade that would do honor to the greatest Admiral in history. The King directed his Minister to write a special Letter to the President of Congress, expressing in the strongest terms his personal esteem towards me, with his entire approbation of my conduct, particular desire to promote my future success and to see me again at his Court &c. To this his Majesty was pleased to add a letter to his minister M. le Chev^{r} de la Luzerne directing him to ask permission of Congress to invest me with the Order of Military Merit: an honor that was never before offered to a stranger who had not actually served either in the Army or Navy of France.

I returned here being charged with the dispatches of Government and having obtained the King's ship Ariel to assist with the Alliance in transporting to America the supply of Arms and Clothing that is now here, and so much wanted in our armies. The Luzerne and several other Merchant Vessels with Cargoes amounting to two Millions of Livres were waiting for my convoy. But to the astonishment of every person on the 13th of this Month Captain Landais went on board the Alliance while I was on shore with the Commandant of the Marine to take measures

for the dispatch of the Ariel and declared he came to take the command. I made immediate application to the Commandant not choosing to have any particular dispute with Captain Landais after the charge I had given in against him and for which with the approbation of this government Doctor Franklin had displaced him seven months before and given him money to bear his Expenses to America for Trial. I was advised to send an express with the account immediately to Court. I went up myself and returned in six days.

I found the Alliance at the entrance of Port Louis, and every necessary disposition was made to stop her from going out agreeable to the within Document, but my humanity would not suffer me to remain a silent witness of Bloodshed between the allied subjects of France and America. My having prevented that scene of horror has been I am persuaded no small disappointment to the wicked heart and empty head of Captain Landais' two principal advisers. Such a scene would have been an excellent ground of argument for the tools of England against France. One of these two would be great men will now have his Carriage Baggage and Family transported from hence in the space on board the Alliance that should have been occupied by the Soldier's clothing: while the Red ribboned Commodore has taken advantage of the confusion and inveigles away from English Dungeons and fed for three months on board the Alliance, in order to man the Ariel. The Brave men who so gloriously served with me in the Bon Homme Richard are now confined as prisoners in the hold of the Alliance and treated with every mark of indignity. I had destined them to compleat a crew for the Ariel, and have demanded them in vain for that purpose. I cannot see where all this will end: but surely it must fall dreadful on the heads of those who have stirred up this causeless Mutiny. For my own part I shall make no other remark than that I never directly nor indirectly sought after the command of the Alliance, but

after having in obedience to orders commanded her for seven months and after Mr Lee had made a written application to me as Commander of that ship for a Passage to America. I am at a loss what name to give Mr Lee's late conduct and duplicity in stirring up a mutiny in favor of a man who was at first sent to America contrary to Mr Lee's opinion, by Mr Dean, and who is actually under arrest by an order of his Sovereign. What gives me the greatest pain is that after I had obtained from Government the means of transporting to America under a good protection the Arms and clothing I have already mentioned, Mr Lee should have found means to defeat my intentions. I thank God I am of no party, and have no Brothers or Relations to serve, but I am convinced that Mr Lee has acted in this matter merely because I would not become the Enemy of the venerable the wise and good Franklin whose heart as well as head does and will always do Honor to human Nature. I know the great and good in this Kingdom better perhaps than any other American who has appeared in Europe since the Treaty of Alliance; and if my testimony could add anything to Franklin's reputation I would witness the universal veneration and esteem with which his name inspires all Ranks not only at Versailles and all over this Kingdom but also in Spain and Holland. And I can add from the testimony of the first characters of other nations that with them Envy itself is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned.

You will bear me witness, my worthy Friend, that I never asked a favour for myself from Congress, for you have seen all my Letters and know that I never sought any indirect influence though my ambition to act an eminent and useful part in this glorious Revolution is unbounded. I pledge myself to you and to America that my zeal [derives] new ardour from the oppositions it meets with, and I live but to overcome them and to prove myself no mock patriot but a true

friend to the rights of human nature upon principles of disinterested Philanthropy. Of this I have already given some proofs and I will give more: Let not therefore the virtuous Senate of America be misled by the insinuations of fallen ambition. Should anything be said to my disadvantage all I ask is a suspension of judgement until I can appear before Congress to answer for myself.

I repeat that I am determined to steer clear of Party and to keep within my line of Duty as an officer. Deeply sensible of the obligation I owe to your friendship and ardently wishing to merit the affection of every good American, I am, Dear Sir, with the highest esteem and Respect, Your most Obliged and very humble Servant,

JNO. P. JONES

N.B. I will do my utmost to return immediately to America. I return you my best thanks for your letter of the 4th Nov^{r}.

The Honorable Robert Morris, Esq.

FROM JOHN PAUL JONES.

Confidential.

L'Orient, Nov^{r} 8, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honor to write you a line, the 26 ult. by the Independence of Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin has been laid up by the gout, so as to disenable him to write me since my return here. I an in hourly expectation of Letters from the Minister of the Marine respecting some Plans I had the honor to lay before Government in May last. Compte de Maurepas has written me a very kind letter approving my Ideas and I hope the new Minister being a man of Publick Spirit will adopt either my project or some other of greater

importance, whereby I may more effectually serve the American Flag and our Common Cause—We are taking in the lower masts of the Ariel, and that little ship will soon be again ready for sea. We understand that Capt. Barry is appointed to Command the Alliance, and my friends here tell me the new 74 Gun Ship called the America at Portsmouth will be reserved for me. If Congress think me worthy of commanding the first ship of the line in the service, I shall be deeply and most gratefully impressed with a sense of that confidence and do my best to merit it. By letters from Boston it seems that Captain Landais and the officers quarrelled on the Passage and they took from him the Command and carried him *to Boston* a Prisoner.

If Congress sit still and suffer this to pass without inflicting a most exemplary punishment, there will be an end to all order and no good officer will risque his reputation in the service. We are told a Court of enquiry was ordered to be held on the Officers but who are the men authorized to sit on that Court? I have seen such Courts chiefly composed of mere Sailors & Fishermen. I have been present when a President of a Court Martial was so ignorant as to be unable to read the Oath he attempted to administer to the members without spelling and making blunders! A general reform is indispensable in the Navy. The greater Mass of the Officers were never intended by Nature to fill such important places; and what I have said from the beginning has proved true. They cannot support their Rank either with honor to themselves or their Country. Our Navy has not only been put into bad hands but it has been . . . employed. It has served to enrich a few ignorant individuals and has done almost nothing for our cause. If my feeble voice is heard when I return to Philadelphia our navy matters will assume a better Face. The formation of the American Navy is an object of the highest importance and can never be effected by men who are ignorant of the business. It is not the first

time that attempts have been made to confine the Captain of a Continental ship and usurp the Command. They pretend Captain Landais was mad. But if that be true, I say he did not become mad on the Passage between France and Boston. If he was formerly mad, which is perhaps the fairest way to account for his conduct while under my command: How will these Officers and *Mr. Lee* at their head justify their having been in mutiny to replace him in the Command of the Alliance a few days before that Frigate sailed from France for America? These acts are new in the World and are [too] glaring to be hushed up.

I am ever with the highest esteem and respect, Dear Sir, Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

JNO. P. JONES.

The Honorable Robert Morris, Esq.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Madrid, 19 Nov^r, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have lately received a letter from Francis Child, a lad whom I had taken by the hand after his Father's Death and put apprentice to M^r Dunlap, your Printer —he complains that Dunlap refuses to give him the Cloaths stipulated in the Indentures and requests that I would save him from nakedness. You will oblige me by giving him twenty five hard dollars or the amount of it in Paper. If you can conveniently discover how he behaves and is likely to turn out, I beg you will inform me, for as his father had a warm and steady attachment to me, I feel myself interested in the welfare of his son who it seems was his favorite.

In June last M^r Bondfield at my request sent a trunk with some articles for my Father and family directed to you by the Peggy, Captain Bradford, bound

from Bordeaux to Philadelphia. I have heard nothing of her since she sailed. As this mode of supplying my family is precarious, I must also request you to advance twenty pounds sterl. to Miss Kitty Livingston for the use of my little boy. For the amount of all these disbursements your bill at sight shall be thankfully paid.

My friend, you are not a little indebted to me on the score of letters—one only has reached me. I am content to go on writing two or three for one, but really you must let me hear sometimes of you and M^rs^ Morris. There are some hearts which like feathers stick to every one they touch, and quit each with equal ease. Mine is not of this kind—it adheres to few, but it takes strong hold. You must therefore write to me, and if you would make your letters very agreeable, dwell on the subjects you will find at or near the Hills and within your own walls. M^rs^ Jay writes by this opportunity to M^rs^ Morris whom she loves and esteems for many reasons unnecessary to repeat to you. Should the following cipher reach you safe we may afterwards write with less reserve—Enticks spelling dictionary printed in 1777 paged backwards—the last past page in the Book is numbered 468, let this be page the 1st and mark the first page (which is the title page) 468—Count the words from the top distinguishing the columns by A—over the *first* figure for the first column, and A—over the second figure for the second column—For instance, the word absent is the fifth word in the first column of the 434^th^ page, and is to be thus written 5. 434.

In a conversation I had sometime ago with the Spanish Minister, he expressed much satisfaction with your conduct relative to the supplies from Philadelphia to the Havana. I mention this as I am sure it will give you pleasure.

Remember me to your friends M^r^ and M^rs^ Mease and your other usual guests near the Hills I wish I had a few such honest open hearted companions here.

God bless you! I am, dear sir, very sincerely your friend, &c.

JOHN JAY

P. S. Perhaps the Dictionary may not contain all the words you may have occasion to use. The following Alphabet will supply that Defect:

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
l m n o p q r s t u v x w y z a b c d e f g h i j k

Hon^ble^ Robert Morris, Esq.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Madrid, 18 December, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

As I have lately written by different vessels to Congress, and my friends, among whom I always reckon you, my chief inducement at present is to commit the enclosed to your care and to request the favor of you to forward them. No letters from America of later date than July have reached me—indeed I have had the pleasure of receiving only one from you since we parted. Some were probably carried with M^r^ Laurens to England—it is generally said and believed that all his papers were taken, and I presume several letters for me were among them. *Arnold's Plot* was as unexpected as its discovery was fortunate. His wife is much to be pitied—it is painful to see so charming a woman so sacrificed. Some of the wise one's predict much Ill from this man's treason. They ascribe it to the gloomy aspect of our affairs & impute his Desertion to a desire of escaping the Ruin into which he saw his Country was falling. In short the Resistance of America looks so miraculous in European eyes, that they are ready to embrace every opinion however

erroneous that tends to reduce the estimate of our Power & virtue more to a level with that which they had formed themselves. The rank we hold on the scale of property generally determines the degree of friendship we may expect from the mass of mankind. This reflection will explain the Importance which every fortunate event in America is of in Europe. I hope you are preparing vigorously for another Campaign, for I much doubt whether Peace will soon take place. The Empress Queen of Hungary is dead, and the ambition of the Emperor will of course be less fettered —what consequences will follow this event is a question much discussed at present. Time only can determine it.

When you see Col. Moyland, tell him that his brother is here and very well. We see each other often. He formerly lived at Cadiz—but as Government ordered all the Irish to remove from the seaports, he was obliged with many others to quit it. It is said that their too great attachment to Britain occasioned this Ordinance.

Be pleased to present our compliments & particularly to Mrs Morris. I am, D^r^ Sir, Your affect friend & Serv^t^

JOHN JAY

The Hon^ble^ Robert Morris, Esq, Philadelphia.

To be sunk in case of Capture.

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, 22^d^ Decem^r^, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

Want of leisure and not of inclination has been the reason of my suffering your fav^r^ of the 2^d^ Novemb^r^ to

remain so long unanswered. I am not at all uneasy at the state of my account with you. I know you too well to suppose that you ever entertained a thought of an unjust or an ungenerous mode of settlement. The low state of public funds obliges me every now and then to draw from my own what is due to me from them. For this reason, I was under the necessity of giving an order upon you the beginning of this month in favor of M^r^ Anderson of Sussex Court House for £105 penn^a^ Currency in specie or an equivalent in other money; and this, for but a decent horse, having lately lost a valuable one by sickness. I am pleased at your determination to take your seat in the Assembly, because I feel myself interested in it, as a public and a private man. I have always been too independent to ask favors, and I do not even chuse to sollicit what I conceive my right thro' the medium of those who would perhaps expect to be paid in a coin I don't deal in (flattery and obsequiousness) were I to wish them to take measures to do me but that justice to which I think I am entitled. Hence I have been heretofore silent upon what I shall now mention to you.

I am very certain that I am no favorite with those who have had the principal Share in the Administration of Pennsylvania since the present form of government was settled. I have always spoken my sentiments freely of the constitution, and have upon late occasions publickly and in my letters reprobated the very small exertions made by the State to support the army in the article of Bread particularly. (When I speak of the State, I mean to except the Bank, for by that association the army has been in a manner subsisted in Flour.) From my long residence in Penn^a^ I look upon myself as an Officer of, and more properly belonging to that State than to any other and I cannot attribute my having been totally unnoticed, in the very liberal provision which she has made for her Officers in the article of Cloathing, agreeable to the recommendations of Congress, to any other reason than those

which I have mentioned—That the president looked upon me as entitled to derive those benefits in common with others is plain to me from a strange kind of offer which he made to me at Morristown last Winter. He told me he had given orders to the State agent to supply me with the stores of Rum, Sugar &c as to the other Officers. I thanked him but replied as I was from my appointment in the army furnished amply with those things in his Excellency's family I should not draw them, and thereby lessen the shares of those who had no other dependance. But then I thought tho' I scorned to give a hint that he might as well have extended his offer to some thing more substantial. What is past I don't mind. But as the States are now about adopting modes for making their officers some compensation for their sufferings and losses by the war, I think I should not be doing myself justice were I to be longer silent—I address myself to you for this purpose in the double capacity of my friend and my representative in the Assembly of the State, and I feel a consciousness of speaking the truth when I say that no man has devoted more of his time nor sacrificed more in proportion to his abilities than I have done in this contest. Whether that time has been well or ill employed I leave it to those who have been acquainted with my services to determine. I only ask what is granted to others of my Rank which is that of L[t] Colonel. I have dwelled long enough upon my own affairs and will not take up much of your time upon those of a public nature.

To be candid with you I do not think the contest ever stood upon more critical ground than at present. The people grow tired of a war which has been of longer continuance than they were led to expect, and are alarmed and amazed to find that the Enemy are at this time of day making strides which they could not effect at the Beginning. The reasons are simple and would be as obvious as day light, if there were not among us those who are determined never to see. Instead

of securing an army when our money was good and the people were willing, we have lavished sums upon men of an hour whose terms of service have been spent in marching to and from the army, and in their way devouring like locusts all before them. The enemy have statedly watched the dissolution of our temporary forces, and have taken their advantages. Last year, leaving a puny Garrison in New York, they made themselves masters of the two Southern States, and came back before our Levies were in the field. Now those Levies are gone, they are making fresh detachments and will probably extend their conquests. Congress have at length done all they can do as to raising an army. They have called expressly for one for the war. Two of the states have adopted the term prescribed, and none that I have heard of have fallen upon effectual means to get the men—The Enemy will undoubtedly reinforce their army in this Country, and should they do it as they threaten, between this and May next, I dread the consequence. Two things will save us and that speedily. A sufficient permanent army and a foreign loan in aid of our revenues. We may amuse ourselves with plans of specific requisitions from the States, and a thousand idle projects: but until the army can be regularly paid cloathed and fed by the means of a substantial medium we are only lingering out the time of our dissolution. Can men be expected to serve without provision, without cloathing, without pay? Of the last we have had none since March and no prospect of any. The wealthiest and wisest nations in the old world do not depend upon their own taxes during a war. They borrow of their neighbors and pay off in time of peace. Perhaps there is no man less apt to despond and I am sure there is none who will oppose longer than I will. But when I see the glorious prize for which we have been contending within our reach, if we would but embrace the means of acquiring of it. May God of his infinite mercy enlighten our under-

standings is the fervent wish of, My dear Sir, Your sincere Friend and humble Servt,

TENCH TILGHMAN

Be good enough to send the enclosed to C–llringen and pay him £11 : 3 : 4, specie or equivalent when he calls for it.

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN.

New Windsor, 17 May, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

I can assure you without flattery, that I have scarcely known any public event give so much satisfaction as your appointment to and acceptance of the administration of Finance, the task you have undertaken is arduous, but I trust you will be supported by every friend of his Country in whatever plans you may think fit to recommend or adopt. I know not whether it may be of any advantage to you to be secure of the confidence and countenance of the Commander in Chief but I will venture to assure you that if any reforms in the economy of the Army are necessary towards extricating us out of the present labyrinth, you may in the freest manner command his assistance in whatever concerns the military. I do not make this offer upon any conjecture, it is the result of more than one conversation upon the subject.

Mr Laurens is arrived in France and has been favorably heard which is a favorable circumstance. I set out to morrow with his Excellency for Weathersfield where he is to have an interview with the Count de Rochambeau in consequence of the dispatches lately arrived from France. I conjecture that the contents of them are agreeable. Our affairs are certainly well in every quarter but our own, and I flatter myself that with a little foreign assistance and your good management they will mend here. We are full of supplies

and the present prospect of a harvest is glorious—A little of the true circulating medium Gold or paper struck upon a golden foundation is only wanting and that I think you will be able to create. The expectations of the people are high and perhaps they may expect a change more suddenly than it is possible to effect one. A few numbers plainly written and addressed to the people on such a subject would I think have a good tendency. We are told that we may expect to see you at Head Quarters. I hope you will not make your visit before our return from the Eastward.

I rece^{d} your very friendly letter of the 23rd March. You will oblige me by forwarding the enclosed to Chestertown. I fear several of my late letters to that place have miscarried. You will be pleased to make my sincerest compliments to Mrs. Morris, and believe me to be truly, Yr. most ob^{t} hb^{le} Ser^{t},

TENCH TILGHMAN

FROM GEN. HORATIO GATES.

Berkeley County in Virginia, 3^{d} June, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Thursday I arrived at my Farm. I staid one day & a half at General Mifflins & a day at Carlisle with General Armstrong. The whole Country through which I passed resounded with execrations at the Downfall of the paper Currency, which coming from those who reason only from their feelings, was scattered without reserve upon Congress, the Executive Council and others whom I believe alike innocent of the causes which have at last produced the fatal effect. My conclusion from all this that if you can place public credit upon a solid foundation, let the operation be ever so slow, so as it be but sure your Fame will be immortal: and your services the most eminent to your Country. Your taking up the Business at this desperate

crisis is not only the more Honourable to you, but will I am satisfied from the circumstances attending it, infinitely promote your success; when men see you promise only what you intend to perform & that you build upon a solid basis they will give you their utmost confidence, that obtained, your success will be apparent. Your Head I know to be equal to everything official, your Heart I will not say anything about, lest you think me a flatterer and that is a trade I am too old to learn or to practice.

Upon my arrival I was acquainted that General Lee had left Berkeley, and was gone to old Ralph Wormley's in King & Queens County, not far from the present Theatre of war in this State. I understand he has received only five hundred pounds hard money, in part of payment for his estate here, & that he has given Mr. Dorsey the purchaser six weeks longer time for to pay the remainder, this six weeks must be reckoned to commence from the 10th of May last, & will end the 21st of this month; your letter shall go by the first safe conveyance, perhaps that will offer in a few days. The place he has gone to, the Language he held while here, his visit to Maryland and other unguarded parts of his conduct while in this neighborhood, serve only to confirm that suspicion which our last conversation upon this subject but too plainly indicated, but since with the very best parts he cannot do Right, I sincerely wish with you he may not do the utmost wrong.

I conjecture this letter will reach your hands about the time of your return from Head Qrs. You will have discovered there what I am led to expect from the Justice and Generosity of General W. Surely I cannot be shuffled out of service unless there is or has been some evident design in Individuals to remove me from all command. Having solely in view the triumphant conclusion of this war I do not reason from selfish motives, had I been directed by them, my Home, my Family, my Fortune had been beyond de-

scription more delightfull than they unhappily are ; but as things stand I would feign see the contest decided in favour of America, and as beneficially as possible for myself; after all I cannot believe there is so much ingratitude either in the people at large or even in Individuals, as to suffer the heavy hand of power to crush, or set aside the publics most fortunate servant.

The arrival of Sir H. Clinton in Virginia with all that went with him and before him from New York must convince you and all the World that the enemy have transferred the Theatre of the War into this State: consequently our main army must with all possible expedition be marched to oppose them.

Your prosperity both as a public officer & as a private gentleman I do most devoutly desire, being resolved ever to remember with Gratitude the kindness you so lately shew'd me in Philadelphia. Mrs Gates joined me in compliments to M^rs^ Morris & in every sentiment of affectionate Regard for you and yours.

The bearer M^r^ Noble is a worthy sensible Trader of this County ; he returns in a few days from Philadelphia and will bring me any Letter you have Leisure to send. I am Dear Morris, your much obliged Faithful Humble Servant,

HORATIO GATES.

ROBERT MORRIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philad^a^, June 15^th^, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have been honored with your very kind & obliging letter of the 4^th^ inst. and should sooner have replied, but I am kept here in a kind of suspense by the very slow manner of proceeding in the assembly of this State.

I am Financier Elect, but that is all, for had I taken the Oath & my Commission, my Seat in the Assembly must have been vacated, and I think it of the utmost

consequenee to preserve my right of appearing there untill the Tender and Penal Laws are totally repealed, for I consider those Laws as destructive of all Credit, even amongst private people in dealings with one another, but to the public officers after the experience we have had, it is evident that the existence of such Laws any longer must totally preclude them from every possibility of Credit, and in our Circumstances the War cannot be carried on without it.

I have already made such an impression on this subject that I feel pretty sure those Laws will be repealed in this State within these Few days, and I expect that the other Legislatures will readily follow the example. I am also pressing our assembly to Levy effective Taxes in hard Money, there are stronger objections made to this than the other Measure, and they are more pertinaciously insisted on, but still they will either wholly or partially come into this also, and if once the Ice is broken they will see such advantages flowing from those foundations, as will readily induce them to follow up the plans that evidently prove in the operation how beneficial they are to the Country. Insuperable obstacles have hitherto prevented me from bending my course towards your Camp and it seems yet uncertain when it may be in my power, for altho' I stipulated with Congress that they should not rest any part of the present Campaign on me, yet they cannot refrain and already much of my time and attention are engaged in that way—not having taken my Commission prevents me from calling on the Several departments for such returns as I should chuse to have with me when I wait on your Excellency, for my objects are to reduce our public Expenditures as nearly as possible to what they ought to be and to obtain revenues in our own Country to meet those Expenses as nearly as can be, and then to shew Foreign Nations engaged in the War that we must look to them for the balance, and I am very confident that when they shall see exertion on one hand & economy on the

other they will be willing to assist us all they consistently can. The promise you so cheerfully made of granting all the support in your power increases my own confidence, and I will before long engage in the duties of my department with all the energy I am Master of, that is provided these Tender and Penal Laws are done away.

I have the pleasure to hear that Mr. Lowry has sent 1000 blls of flour to Camp: from Gen[l] Schuyler I have not yet heard.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most devoted hble. Servt.,

ROB[T] MORRIS

P.S. I hope M[rs] Washington is perfectly recovered & beg my best wishes & complts. M[rs] Morris is at Trenton.

His Excellency Gen[l] Washington.

FROM COL. TENCH TILGHMAN

Head Quarters, New Windsor, 24 June, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have rec[d] your favor of the 11[th] instant accompanied by a delegation from Mess. Clymer and Nixon to take in Subscriptions to the Bank. I am afraid I shall be a very unprofitable Agent for I believe it may with truth be said that there is not an Officer in the Army from the Comm[r] in Chief downwards who is at this time able to pay in a single Subscription. You know they have received no real money from the public for a long time past and consequently have been . . . to spend all they could possibly raise for their own support. I am however happy to inform you that there is no scheme of Economy which you can propose that the army will not cheerfully comply with, and they will

do what is in fact subscribing they will be content with very little of their pay until the state of our finances can enable you to furnish it regularly. The General desires me to inform you candidly that desirous as he is to patronize and support the scheme, he has it not in his power to set his name to the Subscription just now. He assures me that so far has the income of his Estate for several years back fallen short of his family expenses and Taxes that he has lately been obliged to sell part of his real Estate to pay his Taxes.

Paper money of all kinds has so far become useless that I must beg the favor of you to send me twenty or thirty dollars in Specie by Doctor Craik who accompanies M^rs^ Washington as far as Philad^a^.

We are all very anxious to see you at the Army—You will find us in the Field somewhere between Peekskill and Kingsbridge.

I am with very sincere Respect and affection, Dear Sir, Your most ob^t^ Servt^t^

TENCH TILGHMAN.

Hon. Robert Morris, Esq. Philadelphia.

ROBERT MORRIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Office of Finance: July 2^d^, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I am honored with yours of the 28^th^ ult^o^ and am happy to have contributed to your relief in any shape, be assured that it shall be my study to guard you as much as possible against the distress and perplexity that arise from the want of provisions &c: and if the Several Legislatures will only do their part with vigour I shall have the strongest hopes of putting a much better face on our monied affairs in a short time, but without their aid the wheels will go heavily round, I shall therefore ply them closely. In order to bring

about changes gradually, I have advertized for Contracts to supply Rations to the Troops, Artificers & Prisoners that are now in this City or which may happen to be here from time to time between this and the 1st Jany next. Another Contract is also advertized for Lancaster. As the proposals are required to be delivered into my office this week and the next, I expect to gain some insight from them and the treatys that will ensue, and will then go on advertizing for every Post that the Board of War and your Excellency may think necessary to continue. I believe it may not answer so well to contract for Rations to be delivered at the main army as to make one contract for Bread, another for fresh beef, another for Salted meat, another for Rum, vinegar & salt &c because by dividing these Contracts, I can oblige each contractor to allow convenience in time of payment for certain part of the Supplies, and it is most consistent with democratic Ideas to divide things of this kind amongst a number of Freemen, rather than to permit any one to grasp all the advantages that may arise from the Contracts, and there is no danger of prices rising so as to create artificial scarcity under the management of several Contractors, because they will all be actuated by *one* principle that operates effectually against that kind of Competition which raises prices whereas a number of purchasers who have no other rule for their government than a desire to obtain what they want, never fail to raise prices by the measures they pursue, even tho' they mean to serve the public ever so well.

The letter you mention to have been written by Genl Schuyler respecting a greater plenty of flour than he expected has not come to my hands, but I am not under any apprehensions on the score of Provisions well knowing that we are blessed with abundance, for this I pledged myself when I got the Embargo taken off last Spring and was then told I must answer for it, if the flour was all sent away and your army suffered by it, the consequence has been just

what I then foretold, all our ships have been and continue to be constantly employed in carrying flour to the French & Spanish Islands, our Port is filled in return with West India produce, some European goods and many Spanish Dollars, and flour remains so plenty that there has not been a day in which I could not buy 5,000 to 10,000 blls: in this city and the price has fallen from 28/ & 30/. which was asked and given at first to 17/. which is now asked, but I think 15/. or two hard Doll^{s} will buy 112^{lbs} very soon.

I would not take up your time with this detail, only for the sake of this one observation which I think should be impressed on the minds of all persons in power, and which I believe exactly coincides with your sentiments. It is "that commerce should be perfectly free, and property sacredly secure to the owner." The only exceptions that should be admitted, are legal restraints on the first founded on such evident public utility as convinces the Community at large of their propriety, and such restraints should continue no longer than that propriety is evident, and on the last, the only exception should be as to that part of property which is taken from all with an equal hand of Taxation, for whenever the hand of power is stretched for the partial Seizure of property upon the plea of Necessity, a good government ought upon principles of Justice and Policy to make ample Satisfaction to the Individual. Whenever these maxims have their proper force in our governments, these United States will abound with the greatest plenty of their own produce of perhaps any Nation in the World. The people are by nature & habit industrious, feeling themselves secure in the possession of their property they will labour incessantly, that labour lays the foundation of Commerce, unrestrained liberty in this will find vent for our own superfluities, and bring us in return whatever we stand in need of from other Countries. Universal plenty will succeed, that plenty will produce and maintain numbers of men and from those numbers we shall always be

able to collect an army equal to the defence of the Country.

But I beg your pardon, my Dear Sir, I have been inadvertently led into this discussion, when my intention was only to mention that you cannot want provisions so long as I can find money to pay for them, and this shall be my Care and Study as well as to husband it well in the Expenditure which is most essentially necessary. I am much more anxious about Cloathing than provisions and wish you could tell me that the Ship Marquis de la Fayette was arrived.

I shall endeavour to wait on you when certain points are attained here and in the interim, I remain, your Excellency's most ob^{t} hum^{e} Servant,

ROBT. MORRIS.

His Excy. Gen^{l} Washington.

FROM GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

W^{ms} Burgh, 14th Sept^{r}, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

The arrival of the Count de Grasse with a large fleet of men of war &c must have been announced in Phil^{a} long before this period. I wish that the state of our Magazines had been such as to enable us to improve the moment of his arrival, but they were not—and what is *worse* they are *not* even at this moment.

I dont know how it is, but I have not felt so sanguine on the occation as the Naval and land force sent us by our generous and great ally would justify—probably it is occationed by our former disappointments, when matters bore a flattering aspect. The French troops are the finest and best made body of troops I ever beheld. Their officers are gentlemen and I will be answerable for their being soldiers;—we have the highest opinion of their discipline and cannot doubt their prowess. Do you know that notwithstanding all

these circumstances I have been extremely uneasy lest the appearance of a British fleet off these Capes should induce the Count to follow them too far and leave an opening for the British to enter to their exclusion. I hope it was not ominous Admiral Hood made his appearance with *eighteen* sail of the line last Wednesday week, the Count De Grass with *twenty two* sail of the line immediately weighed anchor fourteen of which engaged *Hood*, the other eight could not get up in time as the British Admiral fled too soon for anything but an act of choice, may he not wish to draw *De Grasse* towards New York and expose him to the effects of the Equinoctial storm, whilst the British lay snug in harbor. The Count *De Estaing* was taken in by Lord Howe this time three years by a manœuvre of the same kind. But it cannot, it must not be the case now—the Count has left six sail of the line to block up the entrance of the Chesapeake during his absence—he also has another object—i. e. the junction of the Rhode Island fleet in a given latitude which may account for his long absence.

Unless Fortune is uncommonly unkind Lord Cornwallis and his army must submit to our combined force, his numbers are more than generally given out, we shall find at least six thousand combatants, officers included, exclusive of negroes &c &c So that during the absence of the Count de Grasse who has a large body of marines on board destined to act with us we could not conveniently complete the investiture of York and Glocester. However the arrival of his Excellency General Washington with the troops under his immediate command will enable us to commence our operations immediately. I must acknowledge that I could wish to bring his Lordship to an action previous to the investiture, as it would certainly very much accelerate his reduction.

The Marquis Lafayette one of the best of Officers and first of men has for some days been laid up with a fever which added to my own misfortune tended not a

little to retard this essential business; he is now much recovered and my wound is in so fair a way that I can mount my horse and lead the troops in case of emergency. From Lord Cornwallis's character it may yet be possible to tempt him to a field day, and his Excellency being now arrived I am in hopes matters will be put in a proper train for the purpose, otherwise you may depend upon it that the siege will be very tedious —for the enemy have improved every moment in fortifying and procuring a supply of provisions &c &c.

Their principal works are at Yorktown, which is nearly surrounded by the river and a morass, except a narrow isthmus, upon which is erected a strong independent redoubt with a ditch, frize and abbatis. They also occupy Glocester on the opposite side the river where they have one or two little works to preserve a communication with the Country, but they will certainly evacuate that side as soon as the investiture is complete.

You know that I am of a desponding disposition and was I to *adopt* that character at this crisis, I ought to be d——d, but these are a train of eventual circumstances that I cant help revolving in my mind—all of which makes me most anxiously wish his Lordship to play this *duet* out of the lines, in which case, I would risk my soul and body on figuring into York with him, and bringing the affair to a speedy issue from a full conviction that a victorious army meets no difficulties, and that we possibly may be pressed for *time*— (between you and me) I have some reason to wish for the power of *Joshua*. I certainly would give the good old gentleman a holiday until the American colours were displayed upon the British lines. Until when, and ever believe me Yours most Sincerely,

Anty. Wayne

I found a *leasure* hour to write this scrawl—I hope you may find one to decipher it in, for I realy can scarcely read it myself however it contains some ideas

warm from the heart—I therefore send it uncorrected —in which state I commit it to the hands of a friend.

☞ Before sealing I rec[d] the Inclosed note—my Doubts are removed—success is certain—if the fleet can *wait*—time, time, time—is all.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Second Street, Sept. 20[th], [1781.]

SIR,

As your acquaintance with the finances, your being a member of the House, and an inhabitant of the City give you a united knowledge and interest, I therefore trouble you with a hint which occured to me on the reports of yesterday.

I conjecture that one fourth or one third part of the rental of Philadelphia will defray the expense of a body of Men sufficient to prevent the Enemy from destroying it. I estimate at a guess the yearly rental to be £300,000.

As I need not mention to you to great difference between giving up a quarters rent and losing the whole rental together with the Capital, I shall therefore make no remarks thereon, the hint I mean to convey is, to bring in a provisionary bill for the supply of the City at all times, where the destruction of it appears to be the object of the Enemy by empowering the tenant to pay immediately into the Treasury one quarters rent to be applied as above, and in case it should not be necessary to use the money when collected, the same so paid to be considered as part of the customary taxes —this all our circumstances considered appears to me the readiest and most eligible mode of procuring an immediate supply. Your ob[t] Hble Serv[t]

THOMAS PAINE.

The Hon[ble] Rob[t] Morris, Esq., Front Street.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Second Street, fryday Even'g.

SIR,

Two letters of M^r S. Deane's having appeared in the N. Y. Papers which are variously commented upon, I should like to converse a quarter of an hour with you on that subject. I hope this man's knack of creating confusion and involving characters in suspicion is at an end. Whether the letters be genuine or not I do not undertake to give judgment upon, but his language in [France] is equally as strange as anything contained in these publications.

I am Sir, Your ob^t hble Serv^t,

THOMAS PAINE

Hon^ble Robert Morris, Esq.

Endorsed: Second Street Friday Evening 2^nd Nov^r 1781. Thos. Paine Esq^r respecting Mr. Deane's letters.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Monday Morng, Nov 26^th, '81.

SIR,

I am much obliged to you for the Abbe Raynal's History. I have made some extracts from it, which has occasioned me to keep it longer than I intended. There are several mistakes in it, and his opinions are often in contradiction to one another. His account of the rejection of the offers of the British Ministry pages 133, 134, 135, is erroneous. I send you my remarks thereon, which you will please return to me when you have perused them. His idea of the Alliance is injudicious, because it is not so much what motives brought them together as what consequences will ensue from it that is the object of Philosophical enquiry—And all other considerations apart, the Alliance has a tendency

to free the mind of prejudice. I can feel it in myself—but his account of the confederated powers (page 162) is truly cynical—pages 149 & 155 touches on a political secret.

I am sorry to see Mr Deane's letters get into our papers, as I am very apprehensive they were written for the purpose of publication, and not with a design of being sent to the persons they are directed to. I have mentioned this to Bailey the printer and advised him to discontinue them, and the more so, as the remarks he makes on them is not equal to the poison they infuse.

I return you my thanks for your kindness to Temple Harris, the bearer of this. He is an honest, diligent, obliging youth, and I am persuaded will answer Mr Whiteside's expectation.

Col. Eveleigh lent me some English newspapers of yours. I returned them yesterday except two which I have sent to the Printers—The Col. desired me to mention this to you as you will find them two short of the proper number—the other two will be returned on Thursday.

I am, Sir, Your Obt Hble Servt,

THOMAS PAINE.

P.S. Contrary to my expectations the attack on Augustine by the Spaniards is spoke of by the S. C. Gentlemen as an agreeable circumstance to them.

Honble Robt Morris, Esq.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Second Street, Jany 24, 1782.

SIR,

As some convenience may arise to you in your difficult office by knowing matters before hand, I communicate to you the following.

Some officers of the army were with me this morning by deputation to request me to draw up a petition for them to General Washington respecting their pay and I find it is intended to be a general one. As I am sensible of the inability of the treasury to answer immediate demands, and that it is renewing care to the General who already knows their wants, I entered into some conversation with on the subject by mentioning that the State of the Treasury was now improving—that the taxes laid this year were real and valuable and that any necessary demands just now might rather injure than promote their interest, and that tho' I would wish to oblige them, I should rather desire they would in this instance excuse me, as I know, exclusive of the reasons already mentioned, it would be only adding to the distress of the General.

From some expressions they used I believe they do not expect and immediate payment, but only a payment of their Interest—I forebore to enquire much as I wished them to suspend their petition. But if the payment of the Interest will satisfy them for the present and the Treasury can do it, or begin to do it, it may answer a good purpose. If you should hear no more on the Subject it will be well; if you should, the hint may be of some use, as it would be a pity and might be a misfortune to have anything like the scene of last year reacted.

I am, Sir, Your ob^{t} Hb^{le} Servant,

THOMAS PAINE

Hon^{ble} Robert Morris.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Thursday.

SIR,

As my intention in the memorial sent to you yesterday is to fall in with your representations to the several states to hasten the supplies—If there is anything

you can suggest that may be added or altered, I wish I could know it, as the officers are continually pressing me to my promise—I am now below and have prepared myself with this note lest you . . . [rest torn off.]

Hon^ble^ Robert Morris, Esq.

Endorsed: Thos. Paine: Feby. 7, 82. respecting his memorial he wrote yesterday relative to hast^g^ the supplies.

From Thomas Paine.

Feb^y^ 20, 1782.

Sir,

I communicate to you my sentiments on the subjects and conversation of last evening and on such other circumstances as appear to be connected therewith.

It is to me, and must to every sensible mind, be a pleasure when men having the same public good in view, and capable, according to their several talents, to promote it, come to understand and place confidence in each other. Good opinion is the true foundation of acquaintance and when that takes place good designs may be promoted with the greatest ease.

It is upwards of seven years since I came to America, and above six since I published Common Sense. My situation from the time of my becoming a public man has been exceedingly inconvenient, and nothing but the purest attachment to, and a natural affection for, a cause which I knew and felt to be right, and in which I found I could be useful, could have held me so long and so invariably under such difficult circumstances; yet these I have carefully and constantly concealed, because it could answer no service to the Interest of America to represent her under the character of ingratitude. I am sensible that he who means to do

mankind a real service must set down with the determination of putting up, and bearing with all their faults, follies, prejudices and mistakes until he can convince them that he is right, and that his object is a general good—and I am persuaded from your own experience that you are of the same opinion.

We have now got rid of two traitors Arnold and Deane, and tho' the event so far as respects the latter, has proved me right, it has at the same time proved nobody wrong. That they were alone in their Crimes every one must see, and thus the mischiefs of their secret defection being remedied in their detection, the minds kept asunder by their contrivance unite with ease, confidence and satisfaction.

General Washington is the only person (except Col. Laurens) to whom I fully and unreservedly communicated my situation, and I was under a pressing necessity of doing it. I found my mind burthened and my situation difficult: and as sincerely as I wished the prosperity of a just cause—I had it nó longer in my power to go on as I had done. My reason for mentioning it to him in preference to any other was, because his judgment or his friendship in the case, would and must also be supposed to operate free and clear from himself under no other influence than that of his own mind. I am therefore under no difficulty of accepting the proposal, because I will know that it is not only out of friendship to me, but out of Justice to me, and without which I must be obliged to withdraw my mind from that line in which I can best serve the Community and apply myself to the thought of getting a livelihood. I have the honest pride of thinking and ranking myself among the founders of a new Independent World, and I should suffer exceedingly to be put out of that track.

As I am now speaking my mind and situation very unreservedly, I take the liberty of mentioning for reasons I shall hereafter assign, that I wish that either some allowance could be made for my going to France,

or that the salary might take place from the time of my returning to America. I shall state the manner how that business arose and the inconvenience it has occasioned to me which has thrown me so back, that it will be some time before I get clear, and I should like to feel myself clear at once.

Seeing the distressed situation of the Army and the Country at the time I was Clerk of the House of Assembly last Sept^{r} was a twelve month, and seeing no prospect of its being better and that the matter was not sufficiently taken to heart—I drew up the Crisis extraordinary to show the necessity as well as the advantage of Taxation, and likewise wrote a letter addressed to Count Vergennes which is enclosed; but not willing to presume on my own opinion in a matter of such nicety, I shew it to some Members of Congress, and after several conversations the proposition of sending a person to France was adopted. Col. Laurens was exceedingly averse to going. He mentioned to me that tho' he was well acquainted with the Military, he was not with the political line and proposed my going with him as Secretary. As I was unwilling to give umbrage to several who at that time from mistake were not my friends, I declined appearing officially, but agreed to go as a Companion. I was then on the point of establishing a newspaper, had purchased twenty reams to begin with and M^{r} Izard sent to St. Eustatia for 50 more, but this I relinquished to go the voyage. After settling for my pay with the House of Assembly and discharging everything I owed, I had as much left as purchased me 90 dollars in Bills of Exchange which I got cash for the instant I arrived at L'Orient of M$^{r}_{l}$ Moylan—As we were not always together I paid my separate expenses as long as this money lasted without thinking anything about the matter. When the business was finished I was very desirous, as I was in Europe, to write a Pamphlet and send over to Almon in London to be printed, and to return in the frigate which was to

bring the second supply of money. But Col. Laurens was so exceedingly anxious for my returning with him, and as he had nobody to confide in, in case anything had happened to him on the passage, I quitted my design at his request. It was his intention to mention the matter to Congress or at least to some of its members, but his haste to get away and his passion to join the army, put everything else out of his mind, and I forebore to mention the least hint on the subject. Inclosed is his last letter to me of December 13th. When he left me to set off, I had only two L'ors and have been ever since upon expenses. Mr Ferguson, Genl. Gadsden, and several of the South Carona Gentlemen proposed my coming to Charlestown in case they should get possession, and to draw on them here for what money I might want for that purpose, but their disappointment became mine.

I have now circumstantially related to you my situation which will of itself point out the reason why I wish some advance might be made in either of the modes I have mentioned, for otherwise I shall feel myself under perplexities or be obliged to lay myself under obligations for a considerable time, whereas I would wish to stand clear at once and think no more about past embarrassments for tho' I have had a hard time of it [in] America I would gladly forget it, and you will please to observe that the inconveniences which I mention arise from the very service in which I was employed.

I am, Sir, Your Obt Hble Servt,

THOMAS PAINE

P.S. I received a packet from Mr G. Morris for which I am obliged to him.

From Thomas Paine.

March 13th, 1782.

Sir,

I enclose you the receipt signed agreeable to proposal. If you can conveniently find a leisure half hour either this evening or any time tomorrow, I should be glad to consult with you in a matter purely public, before General Washington goes out of Town.

Tomorrow will suit me better than today, if it is equally as convenient to yourself. I am, Sir, Your Obld Hble Servt,

Thomas Paine

Honble. Robert Morris, Esq, Philadelphia.

From Thomas Paine.

[March, 1782.]

Sir,

I shall get out a piece tomorrow on the King of England's speech, and I have sent to all the printers to secure a place in the Wednesday Papers. As I have not time to enter on the whole business of Revenue in tomorrow's piece, I shall dispose it so as to endeavour to create an animated disposition in the Country—and shall follow it with another piece in the next week's papers on the subject of Revenue, of which I shall give notice. In the meantime I shall take the liberty of consulting you and Mr G. Morris.

I am, Sir, Your Obt Hble Servt,

Thomas Paine

Honble Robert Morris, Esq.

From Thomas Paine.

Sunday, March 17th, 1782.

Sir,

I mentioned to General Washington by note this morning—a wish to have his company at my apartment to eat a few Oysters or a crust of Bread and Cheese in company with you some evening before he went away from Town on the matter I mentioned. The enclosed is his answer in which he refers it to your convenience. But it will be time enough after your evening business tomorrow—and unless it is tomorrow, I do not see how it can take place, tho' I much wish it.

As soon as I get your answer, I shall either see or send to the General.

I am, Sir, Your Obdt Hble Servt,

Thomas Paine

Honble Robert Morris Esq.

General Washington to Thomas Paine.

[Enclosed in preceding letter.]

Phila, March 17, 1782.

Sir,

I would spend an evening with much pleasure were it in my power—but I had fixed upon Wednesday to leave the City, and if the Secretary at War, with whom I have business should arrive in time, I still shall do it.

Tuesday I am under a particular engagement, and the evening of every Monday I meet the financier and some other public officers at his office on general matters. How far this meeting can be dispensed with Mr Morris from his knowledge of the business that

would come before it can best determine. His inclination as it may be signified to you shall govern me, and I will meet at your quarters or his office, as you may agree.

My sentiments with respect to the evacuation of Charles Town accord with yours; and I believe this Post will be given up notwithstanding the disaster which the Brest Fleet has met with; unless G. Britain can do more than acquire a momentary superiority in the West Indies and on this Coast.

I am with much esteem, Sir, Yr obed^{t} Serv^{t},

G^{o} WASHINGTON

P.S. Company prevented me from writing sooner.

Thomas Paine.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Sunday Evening.

SIR,

I send you the enclosed for your opinion. I have closed it up without touching it over, but if you think it a convenient publication, being a better judge of the subject than myself, I will give it into Dunlop's paper of Tuesday morning—if you could return it to me To-morrow about nine.

I have called several times at the office but found you were engaged—Any time that will be convenient to you I will wait on you—

I am Sir, your ob^{t} h^{ble} Servant,

THOMAS PAINE

Hon^{ble} Rob^{t} Morris, Esq.

Endorsed: Sunday Evening, 7 April, 1782, with a piece on Commerce.

From Gen. Anthony Wayne.

Drayton Hall 12 Miles from Charlestown,
2nd September, 1782.

Dear Sir,

I took the liberty of addressing several letters to you during the last Campaign without being favored with a single line in return, which I must attribute to that constant succession of business in which you are necessarily engaged, or to the miscarriage of letters, that but too frequently find their way into the hands of the enemy who open them [without] ceremony, but never communicate the contents except thro' the channel of newspapers and that only, when the subject matter militates *against us*. So much by way of apology in your favor. And now for a few queries on which I wish your opinion! Were the overtures of peace and an offer of Independence to America by the British Ministry anticedient or subsequent to the Rec^{t} of the particulars of the Advantage gained over the Count de Grasse? if subsequent may not the war be procrastinated? As the withdrawal of the British troops from America appears to be a determined *manæuvre*, will not that event have a tendency to lull the United States into security—in that case, have we nothing to apprehend from a second visit, should the British be successful in other Quarters?

These may be ideal apprehensions, but I candidly confess to you that I feel them very forceably—nor has the act of Congress of the 7th ultimo alleviated those apprehensions—however good man time will determine. It's with inexpressible pain and anxiety that I see our little Army mouldering away to a handful by the baneful effects of short Inlistments & the fatal fevers natural to this inhospitable climate?

29th Septr, 1782.

My pen was wrested from me by a sudden & dangerous fever before I had finished my letter of the 2d, & I only now snatch a short interval to reassume it. I fondly flatter myself that I am nearly clear of that disorder which I really dread much more than I do the D—l, a musket or a cannon ball; our worthy General is just recovering from a very violent attack of that same Caitiff fever, which already more than decimated this army; as this will be delivered by an officer, I have ventured to inclose a weekly return of the Pennsa line, the *scale fit for action*, will shew you our real situation much better than words can paint it.

Whilst I am writing, several persons this morning from Charlestown, announce the arrival of the transports from New York to take off the Garrison &c. the Evacuation of that place will certainly take place in the course of three weeks; but if we are to give any credit to London papers of the 13th July in which are the speeches of Mr Fox, Lord Shelburn & the King, they have not yet given up America; should they meet with a disaster, Independence will be acknowledged—if they are fortunate, it will not: may Britain therefore prove the offering of fortune's *eldest daughter* is the sincere wish of your Friend and hum. Servt

Anty. Wayne

Robert Morris, Esq.

From Thomas Paine.

Borden Town, Sept 6, 1782.

Sir,

I am enjoying the company of my friends Col. Kirkbride and Mr Borden at this place, where I purpose (as is my yearly custom) of spending two or

three weeks unless anything in the political world should occasion my return sooner.

As one of my principal designs in getting out my last piece was to give it the chance of an European publication, which I suppose it will obtain both in France and England, I desire you to accept of 50 copies to send to any part of Europe or the West Indies.

I am, Sir Your obd^{t} H^{ble} Servant,

THO^{s} PAINE

Hon^{ble} Robert Morris, Esquire, Philadelphia

Endorsed: Copies of his reply to Abbé Raynal.

COPY OF A LETTER TO DR. FRANKLIN IN CYPHER.

Philadelphia, 28 Sept^{r}, 1782.

SIR,

In my letter of yesterday, I have dwelt on the Resolutions of Congress, in the manner required by my Duty as their Servant. I will now add a few hints as your Friend. Your enemies industriously publish that your Age and Indolence have unfitted you for your station, that your Sense of Obligation to France seals your lips when you should ask their aid, and that (whatever your friends may say to the contrary) both your Connections and Influence at Court are extremely feeble—I need not tell you that Mess^{rs} Lee &^{c} are among the foremost who make these assertions and many others not worth the mention. I should not have given you the Pain of Reading these, but that (as you will see from the Resolution of the twenty third instant) Congress have believed your grateful sensibilities might render you unwilling to apply with all that warmth which the sense of their necessities convinces them is necessary. In addi-

tion to the general Reflection how Envy has favored superior merit in all ages you will draw farther consolation from this that many who censure are well disposed to cast like censure on France and would fain describe her as acting the part of self Interest without a wish to render us effectual aid. You will I am sure attribute what I now say to a friendly Desire of apprizing you of things useful for you to know, and you will so act as to convince every man that your Exertions are what I verily believe them to be.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient & Humble Servant,

His Excellency Benjamin Franklin Esq.

In the handwriting of Gouverneur Morris—no signature.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Second Street, Nov^{r} 20, 1782.

SIR,

As I do not sit down with a design of making a fair Copy of this letter, but only to communicate a few thoughts, you will, I hope, excuse what blotting or scratching there may be in the course of it.

I have made a beginning on the citizens of R. I. which will appear in Bradford's and Claypole's Saturday papers. I intend to continue the subject to three letters, as you will see by my conclusion of the first. The second will be on the convenience and equality of the tax, and the third on the *Union of the States*, I shall not put the signature Common Sense to them, because I do not wish to bring them into more notice than there is occasion for. But I intend putting them under cover to the Providence paper, and that he may not grumble I shall pay the postage.

All these embarrassments are ascribable to the loose and almost disjointed condition of the Union. The

States severally not knowing what each other will do are unwilling to do anything themselves. But the point to be considered now is, whether we cannot make the inconvenience a foundation for a reform, by applying the inconvenience as a reason for it.

In our situation as a Republic, made up of many parts, there are matters Continental others which are *Statacal.*

The first like the second, is easily conceived to divide itself into two parts—Executive and Legislative —Of the first kind (Continental Executive) is the right of war and peace. All foreign affairs, the direction of the army and navy when we have one, the asustainment of expenses in the Gross—and perhaps the *quotaing* them out on the several States.

Of the second kind (Continental Legislative) is the Regulation of the Post Office, the regulation of Commerce and consequently of all Taxes to be raised by Commerce to or from foreign parts, the right of making laws for treason against the United States, against forgery of continental bills bonds or notes, and other matters (w^{ch} are not many) in which all the States are interested alike and for which reason the law thereof must be alike in each.

The people in all the States have conceived an impropriety or rather what they call an inconsistency in blending the executive with the legislative (I observe this objection is thrown out by the Citizen of R. I. in the freemans journal of to-day) and I am apt to think that some of the embarrassment respecting the present duty, arises from an *Idea* that Congress in pointing out the *Law itself,* instead of calling for the *sum only* steps into a Legislative character. Now in all matters of this kind which must be alike in all the States, to secure any one from having an unfair advantage taken of her situation by another—were Congress in the Form of a Message and Recommendation to lay the matter with the necessity, propriety and advantage before the several States, and sum-

mon once a year or occasionally a Legislature, 3 or 5 persons from each State, to meet and enact that law for and in behalf of the whole & that to be the operating law for all—I think much of the difficulty would be got over and Congress stand in a much better and more exalted situation than at present, because being obliged now to act in cases where it is conceived they *have not* a delegated right twists itself injuriously into matters where they *have* a right, and subjects their whole authority to suspicious observation; and consequently to take from them the occasion of acting *out* of character, will establish their acting *in* character.

As the people of America do not feel themselves legislatively connected, and are not willing that Congress should supply it; they feel a link wanting in the chain of union which something like what I have mentioned might complete, because I would have all these sort of laws ceremoniously passed by a legislature summoned for the purpose. It would remove the present little prevailing suspicion of the Executive power.

But my immediate view in suggesting these thoughts to you is to find a way to carry us over the present difficulties with R. I. I see a train of evils attending a rupture, and many inconveniences following from her present conduct.

But if you think these hints worthy some attention, and should find on conversing with others that they are of the same opinion, might it not be suggested to Rhode Island that it is in contemplation to recommend to the states to depute a number from their bodies for the express purpose of deliberating upon and framing such a law as shall operate with equal justice over all, enforcing at the same time the necessity of her cordially going hand in hand with the States as far as they have already gone and refer herself in common with the rest to a Legislative decision of the whole.

My third number will be particularly calculated to enforce the necessity of a stronger Union, for at pres-

ent we hang so loosely together that we are in danger of hanging one another. And it appears to me more likely that the Union may be strengthened by the addition of another cord than by twisting a new strand into the old one.

Before I publish my third letter I should be glad of an opportunity of talking the subject over. M^r^ Livingstone once mentioned to me, that I should see an occasion of taking up the subject of the Confederation—and as this letter has a reference thereto, I wish when you have an opportunity that you should show it him.

As I bargained with you for blots and blunders, I close with reminding you of it. I have just time to close my letter and that is all. It is now past eight o'clock, the 20^th^ of November which is the anniversary of the Evacuation of Fort Lee, in which I had my share of difficulties, and I am going to spend the evening with a Whig of that year who was in the same situation.

I am, Sir, Your ob^t^ Hb^le^ Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

Hon^ble^ Robert Morris, Esquire

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Second Street, Dec. [7, 1782.]

SIR,

Understanding that Congress has appointed a deputation to Rhode Island, I transmit you a thought on that subject.

Considering how unwilling men are to recede from fixt opinions, and that they feel something like disgrace by being convinced, the way to obtain something is to give something. And as it is necessary in the present case to cast about for every preparative—suppose R. I. was to pass the law for two years, providing that at the expiration of one year, a deputation from

the Legislatures of all the States were to meet, to confer on any inconveniences the present state of the several Acts might be found to be encumbered with, and adjust a plan suitable to the circumstances of the whole. The term of two years will carry our system beyond any present hopes of the enemy and the meeting or conference at the end of one year may be a means of bringing about a more compact union—and the States severally be eased in the meantime of any apprehension right or wrong. I am going out to-day, but if I have time I will call upon you—If not at any time that will suit you I will wait on you.

I am, Sir, your ob^{t} H^{ble} Servant,

T. Paine.

Hon. Robert Morris, Esq.

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506. Benj. B. Atterbury, *N. Y. City.*
507. Richard W. Roche, "
508. Thomas H. Morrell, "
509. Smith Barker, "
510. Everardus B. Warner, "
511. Augustus T. Francis, "
512. Wm. A. Slingerland, "
513. Riley A. Brick, "
514. Same, "
515. Walter M. Smith, "
516. Henry Elsworth, "
517. John Hecker, "
518. Warren Ward, "
519. Charles G. Judson, "
520. J Meredith Read, Jr., *Albany.*
521. John H. Van Antwerp, "
522. Wm. M. Van Wagenen, "
523 Wm. T. Ryerson, *N. Y. City.*

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524. Edwin Hoyt, *N. Y. City*
525. John Van Nest, "
526. Clinton Gilbert, "
527. J. Carson Brevoort, *Brooklyn.*
528. Same, "
529. Isaac D. Russell, *N. Y. City.*
530. Henry Oothout, "
531. Alexander P. Irvin, "
532. Beriah Palmer, "
533. Robert Schell, "
534. Alfred T. Ackert, *Rhinebeck.*
535. John H. Watson, *N. Y. City.*
536. Abraham Baldwin, "
537. Ezra A. Hayt, "
538. William G. Lambert, "
539. Charles S. Smith, "
540. Charles A. Macy, "
541. Samuel Raynor, "
542. Lucius Tuckerman, "
543. William Betts, "
544. William K. Strong, "
545. John D. Jones, "
546. Same, "
547. Thomas C. Doremus, "
548. Rudolph A. Witthaus, Jr., *N. Y. City.*
549. F. W. Macy, *Cranford, N. J.*
550. J. N. Ireland, *Bridgeport, Conn*
551. William Montross, *N. Y. City.*
552. Samuel R. Mabbatt, "
553. Jacob S. Wetmore, "
554. Marvelle W. Cooper, "
555. Abraham M. Cozzens, "
556. Jacob Van Wagenen, "
557. John H. Riker, "
558. Wm. Alexander Smith, "
559. George Dixon, Jr., "
560. Hamilton Odell, "
561. Charles B. Richardson, "
562. Horatio Nichols, "
563. George T. Hall, "
564. Henry A. Burr, "
565. Franklin H. Delano, "
566. James M. Deuel. "

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567. Richard Irvin, Jr., *N. Y. City.*
568. Dudley B. Fuller, "
569. Henry A. Smythe, "
570. Josiah S. Leverett, "
571. J. S. Davenport, *Boston, Mass.*
572. Bronson Peck, *N. Y. City.*
573. William A. Allen, "
574. William Dowd, "
575. David L. Baker, "
576. John G. Shea, "
577. Clarkson N. Potter. "
578. David D. Field, "
579. William H. Appleton, "
580. Samuel J. Tilden, "
581. James W. Gerard. "
582. Timothy G. Churchill, "
583. Parker Handy, "
584. Nathaniel Hayden, "
585. John G. Holbrooke, "
586. Robert H. McCurdy, "
587. Rush C. Hawkins, "
588. L. M. Ferris, Jr., "
589. Theo. Roosevelt, "
590. J. Butler Wright, "
591. George Palen, "
592. George Griswold, "
593. O. D. Munn, "
594. Frank Moore, "
595. William H. Lee, "
596. H. P. Crozier. "
597. Henry E. Clark, "
598. Jackson S. Schultz, "
599. John Carter Brown, *Providence, R. I.*
600. John Carter Brown, 2d, *Providence, R. I.*
601. Peleg Hall, *N. Y. City.*
602. Charles L. Anthony, "
603. George W. Hall, "
604. J. T. Leavitt, "
605. Joseph Howland, *Matteawan.*
606. John W. Munro, *N. Y. City.*
607. Parker Handy, "
608. Same, "

SHARE

609. Parker Handy, *N. Y. City*
610. George Griswold, "
611. Willard Parker, "
612. Alex'r W. Bradford, "
613. Benjamin L. Benson, "
614. Edward Schell, "
615. A. B. Kellogg, "
616. Joseph O. Brown, "
617. E. B. Oakley, "
618. Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr., "
619. David S. Duncomb, "
620. Augustus K. Gardner, "
621. L. Bayard Smith, "
622. Louis de V. Wilder. "
623. William E. Bird, "
624. Franklin B. Hough, *Lowville.*
625. Thomas P. Rowe, *N. Y. City.*
626. Samuel Osgood, "
627. Charles A. Meigs, "
628. Edward H. Purdy, "
629. Joseph F. Joy, "
630. Hezekiah King, "
631. Horace W. Fuller, "
632. William H. Post, "
633. Edward D. Butler, "
634. Henry B. Dawson, *Morrisania.*
635. Almon W. Griswold, *N. Y. City.*
636. S. Townsend Cannon, "
637. Theodore M. Barnes, "
638. Joel Munsell, *Albany.*
639. Same, "
640. Thomas A. Bishop, *N. Y. City*
641. Same, "
642. Nicholas F. Palmer, "
643. J. L. Leonard, *Lowville.*
644. David C. Halstead, *N. Y. City*
645. Thomas Morton, "
646. J. F. Sheafe, "
647. Henry A. Bostwick, "
648. Hiram D. Dater, "
649. George H. Williams, "
650. Aug. W. Reynolds, "
651. Silvanus J. Macy, "
652. Henry J. Scudder, "

SHARE

653. N. W. Stuyvesant Catlin, *N. Y. City.*
654. H. Tracy Arnold, *N. Y. City.*
655. Benjamin R. Winthrop, "
656. Same, "
657. Benj. R. Winthrop, Jr., "
658. Egerton L. Winthrop, *N. Y. City.*
659. Franklin Edson, *Albany.*
660. Robert C. Melvain, *N. Y. City.*
661. Archibald Russell, "
662. William I. Paulding, *Cold Spring.*
663. John Romeyn Brodhead, *N. Y. City.*
664. John L. Kennin, *N. Y. City.*
665. James Stokes, Jr., "
666. John A. Russell, "
667. E. M. Wright, "
668. Everardus Warner, "
669. Everardus B. Warner, "
670. John C. Hewitt, "
671. Peter Stryker, *Phila., Pa.*
672. Wilson M. Powell, *N. Y. City.*
673. Samuel H. Brown, "
674. Ellsworth Eliot. "
675. John T. Klots, "
676. Charles H. Dummer, "
677. Henry D. Bulkley, "
678. J. K. Hamilton Willcox, "
679. Appleton Sturgis, "
680. William T. Salter, "
681. William Rockwell, "
682. E. H. Janes, "
683. Thomas B. Newby, "
684. Louis de V. Wilder, "
685. Same, "
686. Samuel Coulter, "
687. Ralph Clark, "
688. Thomas F. De Voe, "
689 John Groshon, "
690. S. L. Boardman, *Augusta, Me.*
691. Charles J. Folsom, *N. Y. City.*
692. George Folsom, "

SHARE

693. Everardus Warner, *N. Y. City*
694. George C. Eyland, "
695. C. F. Hardon, "
696. F. Wiley, "
697. Alexander Wiley, "
698. John W. Scott, *Astoria.*
699. Edward Anthony, *N. Y. City*
700. Chaunoey P. Smith, *Wolcott.*
701. H'y Camerden, Jr., *N. Y. City.*
702. George Bancroft, "
703. Abraham R. Warner, "
704. James W. Purdy, *Suffern*
705. Chas. Congdon, *B'klyn, N. Y.*
706. Long Island Historioal Society, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
707. Brooklyn Mercantile Library Association, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
708. New Bedford Free Library, *New Bedford, Mass.*
709. John David Wolfe, *N. Y. City.*
710. Miss C. L. Wolfe, "
711. George W. Cook, "
712. James L. Woodward, "
713. William Frederick Poole, *Boston, Mass.*
714. Benjamin H. Field, *N. Y. City.*
715. Cortlandt De Peyster Field, *N. Y. City.*
716. John Fitch, *N. Y. City.*
717. Same, "
718. F. Augustus Wood, "
719. John H. Dillingham, *Haverford College, Pa.*
720. F. Augustus Wood, *N. Y. City.*
721. Charles A. Peabody, "
722. Edwin F. Corey, Jr., "
723. John G. Lamberson, "
724. Same, "
725. John E. Parsons, "
726. Gratz Nathan, "
727. B. F. De Costa, "
728. Henry C. Potter, "
729. Henry Nicoll, "
730. George E. Moore, "

SHARE

731. JOHN F. TROW, *N. Y. City.*
732. SAME, "
733. SAME, "
734. SAME, "
735. SAME, "
736. SAME, "
737. SAME, "
738. SAME, "
739. SAME, "
740. SAME, "
741. GEORGE H. MOORE, "
742. SAME, "
743. SAME, "
744. SAME, "
745. SAME, "
746. SAME, "

SHARE

747. GEORGE H. MOORE, *N. Y. City.*
748. SAME, "
749. SAME, "
750. SAME, "
751. WILLIAM J. HOPPIN, "
752. JAMES W. BEEKMAN, "
753. JOSEPH F. LOUBAT, "
754. CARLISLE NORWOOD, JR., "
755. JAMES HAVEMEYER, "
756. THE PEABODY INSTITUTE, *Baltimore, Md.*
757. T. HARRISON GARRETT, *Baltimore, Md.*
758. THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY, *Toronto, Canada.*
759. FRANCIS BAKER, *N. Y. City.*
760. GOLDSBOROUGH BANYER, *N. Y. City.*

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SHARE

18. JOSEPH J. COOKE, *Providence, R. I.*
20. GEORGE FARMER, *N. Y. City.*
31. HENRY P. CAMPBELL, "
41. JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, "
43. MRS. SARAH D. THOMPSON, "
47. RACHEL T. WHITEHEAD, "
83. HUGH H. BOWNE, "
84. EDWARD A. WALTON, "
90. ASHER R. MORGAN, "
94. CHARLES H. GUILD, *East Somerville, Mass.*
98. JACOB A. GROSS, *N. Y. City.*
111. J. K. WIGGIN, *Boston, Mass.*
136. EUGENIA BRODHEAD, *N. Y. City.*
150. GEORGE H. PEEKE, *Jersey City, N. J.*
167. JOHN J. THOMPSON, *N. Y. City.*
174. LUCIE P. BENEDICT, "
187. J. K. WIGGIN, *Boston, Mass.*
195. ELLSWORTH ELIOT, M.D., *N. Y. City.*
284. SAMUEL C. BLACKWELL, *Somerville, N. J.*

SHARE

296. ELEANOR MARY CRONIN, *N. Y. City.*
305. FRED'K THOMPSON, *N. Y. City.*
321. SAMUEL Y. CLARK, "
349. HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, *Cambridge, Mass.*
351. THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY, *N. Y. City.*
358. ROBERT S. MILLER, *N. Y. City.*
426. EVERETT P. WHEELER, "
427. JOHN H. SPRAGUE, "
450. EUGENE H. LECOUR, "
470. WILLIAM BOLLES HALSEY, *N. Y. City.*
496. BOSTON ATHENÆUM, *Boston, Mass.*
502. THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Cincinnati, Ohio.*
508. JOSEPH SABIN, *N. Y. City.*
509. D. NOBLE ROWAN, "
512. JOSEPH SABIN, "
528. THE ASTOR LIBRARY, "
532. NATHAN B. WALKER, "
540. FRANCIS H. MACY, JR., "
559. DAVID G. FRANCIS, "

SHARE

643. The Trustees of the Lowville Academy.
663. Eugenia Brodhead, *N. Y. City.*
664. Frank Nicolls Kennin, *Ontario, Canada.*
670. Wm. P. Prentice, *N. Y. City.*
684. Edward C. Wilder, "
685. C. V. B. Ostrander, "

SHARE

698. The College of New Jersey, *Princeton, N. J.*
714. John Everitt, *N. Y. City.*
716. James M. Hunt, "
719. Haverford College Library, *Haverford College, Pa.*
723. Henry H. Thompson, *N. Y. City.*
727. David G. Francis, *N. Y. City.*

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